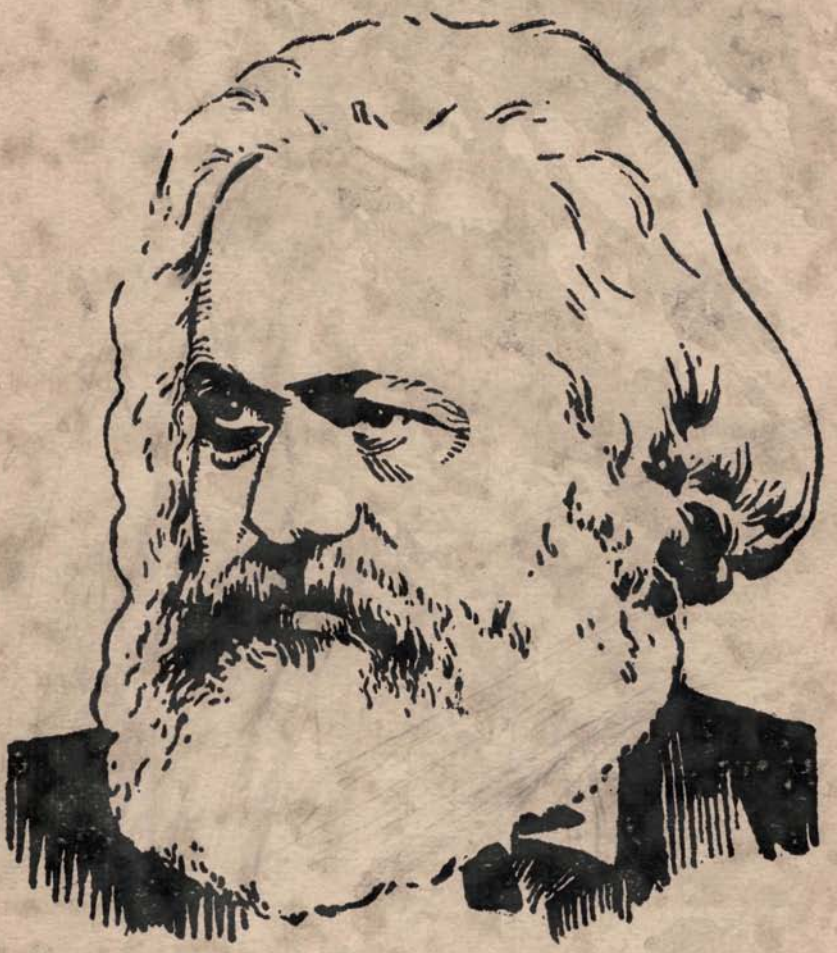
THE COMMUNIST

. XII MARCH, 1933 No. 3



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"For Marx Was Before All Else A Revolutionist"—Engels

ENGELS' SPEECH OVER THE GRAVE OF MARX

EDITORIAL NOTE: *On Saturday, March* 17, 1883, *Marx was laid to rest in Highgate Cemetery, beside the remains of his wife, who had been buried there fifteen months earlier.*

At the graveside, Comrade Lemke laid on the coffin two wreaths looped with red ribbon, one in the name of the staff of the SOZIAL-DEMOKRAT, *of Zurich, and the other in that of the Communist Workers' Educational Society of London.*

Then Comrade Engels spoke as follows:

ON THE fourteenth of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in an armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the forms of government, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and Socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

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Two such discoveries would be enough for one life-time. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced a quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history. For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Daprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the Paris *Vorwaerts* (1844), the Brussels *Deutsche Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-9), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association —this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him. And now he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his work will endure through the ages!

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Some Lessons of the Strike Struggles In Detroit

THROUGHOUT the whole period of the crisis, there have been severe attacks on the living standards of the workers in the auto industry; the wages were cut severely, and yet we were unable to develop any struggles. There were no spontaneous struggles—in fact, no organized resistance of any kind, although now and then there was some grumbling and protest in this or that department. *The present strike movement in Detroit is not only the result of the ripening of the objective situation. A decisive question and the determining factor in the strike movement is that our Party took things in its hands, adopted a correct orientation towards the factories and partial struggles, carried through a definite program of concentration, and through this was able to give at this moment leadership to the masses who were beginning to come into motion.*

Only when the Party orientated towards the factories and concretely to the development of partial struggles in the factories, when the Party became conscious of the fact that struggles can take place in this industry and broke down the feeling that we could not have struggles, only then were we able to develop this strike movement. This change in the work of the Party in this district is only recent. It is no doubt true that the work conducted for all these years was also an important factor in developing the struggles at the present time. *But the actual real organizational work in the factories began only very recently.*

The reason why it is necessary to stress this point is, that it enables us to understand many of our problems at this time facing us in Detroit. We have not yet entrenched ourselves very strongly in the shops, and in most of the shops we have not yet established reliable, tested leadership. The Party was discussing questions, as to where to concentrate, and there was some unclarity and difference of opinion in the preceding months. The general conclusion reached was that the main concentration must be the Ford plant, and this is still the main orientation. Simultaneously with this the Pary adopted a position to concentrate also on the weakest link, to develop struggles in the Briggs Body plants. To a certain extent Briggs was the weakest link. The workers there are among the most exploited in the entire auto industry of Detroit and the company is

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closely allied with the whole of the Ford production process. During 1930 there were some small strikes in Briggs.

The first strike, which developed in the Briggs Waterloo plant this year, was successfully concluded with a victory for the workers. The wage cut was defeated, but without official recognition of the shop committee. Nevertheless, in reality the shop committee is recognized; the company is compelled to take up the grievances through the shop committee. As a result of this policy a large portion of the workers joined the union and organized their shop committee.

The second strike broke out in the Motors Products plant, which, on the basis of the first victory, was a victory in every respect, a victory in securing a substantial wage increase, and also winning recognition of the shop committee. Some 1,200 out of about 1,500 in the shop joined the union.

Up to this time, the auto manufacturers were taken by surprise. The one mostly worried was Ford, where as yet there is no strike. The first few days, therefore, when these strikes began, and the united front movement was developing, the enemies had not yet worked out a policy. All the reformist organizations were not yet brought to the surface, although they were there all the time. To a certain extent, the first two victories were a result of the fact that we caught them unawares. The spirit of the workers was very high, and the bosses tried to check the movement. The bosses sensed the new feature in these struggles—that they bore definite elements of a counter-offensive, which they hoped to check by bringing the first strikes to a close through partial concessions.

About ten days later the big strike in the Briggs Mack plants broke out, which immediately became a general strike in all Briggs plants, involving about 8,000 workers. We were for the first time confronted with the real problems of the strike. The bosses unfolded their whole policy. They realized especially the danger of the workers building their organization. The bosses therefore brought forward their whole policy. On the one hand a policy of terror, and on the other hand a policy of demagogy, not only on the part of the social reformists, but also on the part of the bourgeois organizations, the Republican Party and the Demofratic Party. The president of the Briggs organization, Connelly, is also the head of the Democratic Party in the State of Michigan. This explains to an extent how quickly Comstock, the new "liberal" Democratic governor, immediately sent in the state troopers, despite the fact that one of his chief campaign promises was the abolition of the state troopers.

They brought all the coersive forces of the government into play in this strike, as well as all demagogic forces. We did not

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sufficiently expose this demagogy, the relation of Comstock and Connelly, and all other forces involved in impeding the strike movement.

The biggest problem we are facing in this strike movement is the struggle against the social reformists. This was brought out sharply in the task of establishing the leadership of the Auto Workers' Union in the strike struggles, and the developing strike movement. Why is it that this becomes such a serious problem now? This is because our Party and the Auto Workers' Union, despite the fact that it is known to the workers and has tradition among them, for a long time did not realize that social reformism is a power in Detroit, and so neglected fighting them in all these past years.

Since there were no outstanding leaders, and little organization, the comrades did not see the Socialist Party. As far as the I. W W. were concerned, everybody thought they were just a bunch of hobos, but we discovered they are in the factories and among some of the skilled workers, too. Our big problem, therefore, in this growing strike movement is to recognize that we cannot make any advances without a sharp struggle against and the defeat of the social reformists.

In the question of the struggle against social fascism, we therefore made very many mistakes. The Party had a correct policy. There was some resistance on the part of the comrades in the union in carrying through this policy. The comrades thought that by soft-pedaling on this question they will eliminate the social fascists as a factor in the strike. That is the road to defeat. Many of the comrades, including some very good comrades in the leadership of the strike, emphasized the fact that they discovered what they did not know before—how backward the workers are. Here is the root of the mistake in our struggle against social reformism. The comrades felt they cannot fight against social reformism because the workers are backward. What these comrades meant was that the workers still have strong bourgeois prejudices. That they discovered this in the strike of course merely signifies our sectarian isolation from these masses. But surely this is not the new feature of the situation. What they should have discovered is the fact that the workers are not backward, but that the workers are moving forward. This is the new feature of the situation the comrades should emphasize at this time.

The correct fight against the social fascists, the correct application of the tactic of the united front from below, is now the central question in Detroit on which will depend the outcome of the pres-

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ent strikes, and our leadership of the developing strike movement, and the extent to which we consolidate our influence.

As a result of our weakness in conducting a relentless struggle against the social fascists and exposing them before the workers, the strike committee, and then a mass meeting of the strikers—not enthusiastically, but influenced by the pressure of the agents of the bosses—approved the policy of ousting Raymond of the Auto Workers' Union from the Briggs Mack Avenue strike. It was not a decisive action on the part of the workers. The workers felt there was no action in the strike. The Highland Park strike was over. The agents of the bosses promised them they will get negotiations if they put out Raymond, and they used this as a last straw. Many workers abstained; a good number voted against. It is important to emphasize this.

Our comrades did not force the issue of the Auto Workers' Union to a vote when it was raised by the enemies, and then withdrawn by them. Our comrades were satisfied that the bosses' agents withdrew. There was a tendency on the part of some of the comrades to say we were defeated this week, and that this proves that we would have been defeated before if we had placed the matter to a vote. Just the opposite is the case. When the strike spirit was high, the misleaders did not bring it to the mass meeting; they were afraid to bring it. And that was the time we should have brought it to the workers, educated the workers, and mobilized them for our policy.

The Highland Park strike of the Briggs plant was practically over at an early date. Here the whole of the armed forces were concentrated, and the workers retreated. But these workers did not go back to work defeated. They went back with higher wages, which were granted by the company in the first days of the strike. But the strike was continued for all demands, including the recognition of the shop committee. The company withdrew the main issue of the strike. The workers demanded to be paid a flat rate, and this was granted. The strikers continued in spite of that for their own demands. That is, they won their point for which the strike was precipitated. Now, as for the Briggs Mack Avenue strike, there is no definite settlement of the situation as yet. This in spite of the fact that after the ousting of Raymond the agents of the bosses, who remained in the leadership of the strike, issued a statement pleading with the bosses—now we have thrown out Raymond, now will you settle with us. In this statement they did not dare attack the Auto Workers' Union. They did not dare attack even Raymond. This shows that the prestige of the Union among the workers is great.

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What is the policy at present with regard to the Briggs workers? We know from the past that we have to be very careful in overcoming the conceptions that because we are not in control of the strike therefore the strike is not our business. Therefore the main emphasis must be that this is our strike, and not to separate ourselves from the strikers. First of all, our task is to raise the issues of the strike in the strike committee and to strengthen our leadership there. Secondly, to call a meeting of the strikers and of the members who joined the union, many of whom are now withdrawing from the union. The union still has a substantial membership. It is necessary to call these workers together, to activize them and to make them the backbone for the fight on the floor at the strike meetings. One of the main reasons why we could not carry through our policy in Briggs is because the workers recruited were never until recently called together and organized. We had very little organization at the beginning of the strike. During the strike the most militant joined, and if they had been brought together they could have been a powerful force in the struggle and outcome of the strike.

With regard to the Hudson strike, how did the strike develop? There was a rumor that the Hudson company is going to give some increases. Monday morning, when the workers came to work, they found posted on the walls an announcement of increases in wages and an increase in the bonus. The increase was five cents per hour. The demand of the union was twice that much. Of course, the union had eight or nine other demands, good demands. But the main issue the company met half way. However, the company fired two of the leading workers on Monday, and on Tuesday morning the workers were enraged and the strike was called. The motor department was also out, shutting down the whole plant. The Hudson company immediately announced they were willing to negotiate with the workers' committee. A committee was elected. The company furnished a bus to take the workers from one plant to the main office of the company for negotiations. When the workers got into negotiations, the company said they were willing to negotiate, providing the workers went back to work first. This the committee refused. It is clear, however, that the company gave quite a concession on the wages, five cents an hour, which means $2.50 a week. What is more, immediately following the victory in the first Briggs strike (Waterloo plant) the Hudson company withdrew a notice of a 15 per cent wage cut.

In the meantime the various representatives of the auto manufacturers got busy flying to Washington. Edsel Ford went to Washington. The U. S. Secretary of Commerce, Chapin, is the former

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secretary-treasurer of the Hudson Motor Company. Representative Wideman, the new Democratic Congressman-elect, an ally of the underworld and of the Detroit Federation of Labor, dispatched a letter to Doak. It was clear, therefore, that between the first announcement of the Hudson company and the time the actual negotiations took place, they worked out a policy not to grant the demands, and not to recognize the committees.

The correct strike strategy of the leadership of the strike, the enthusiasm of the workers, finally compelled the Hudson Motor Company to grant all the demands of the workers. The strike ended in a smashing victory for the workers.

Before the first strike in the Briggs plant, all the auto manufacturers were about to launch a wage slashing offensive. However, the growing strike struggles and strike sentiment in all the auto plants in Detroit stopped the wage cutting offensive. Almost every plant with the exception of Ford either withdrew a contemplated wage cut or gave the workers a wage increase. Here one can see the elements of a counter offensive of the workers. Not only in auto but in many industries, especially in steel, the Detroit struggles have already checked the wage-cutting drive.

The perspective is that we will have continuous strikes in Detroit. The bosses have at no stage in any of the struggles yet defeated the workers. On the contrary, the workers have gained sometimes small concessions and other times bigger concessions. And this shows that the movement is on the rise and will continue to be on the rise.

What is the status of the union and the Party? The union recruited not only during the strike, but from the beginning of the work for its conference, between 2,500 and 2,800 members. We cannot consider this, as yet, mass recruitment. About 15,000 workers were on strike. There were strikes in Hudson, Murray Body, Briggs, Motor Products—all big plants. The problem for the union now is in the first place to increase its leadership in the growing strike movement and to consolidate and further strengthen the union.

The Auto Workers' Union should explain to the workers its program and policy. It must be clear that the union cannot force everything in its policy upon the workers without convincing them. The main problem is not to wait until the workers raise problems, but these problems should be raised by the union. The union must pursue a conscious policy of educating the workers.

The Party has recruited very little during the strike so far. There is no mass recruitment policy. The Party shall hold mass

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meetings and to these mass meetings workers who participated in these strikes should be invited. These general meetings should be followed by meetings on a neighborhood basis and as much as possible on the basis of shops, by bringing together 10, 20, 30 or 40 sympathetic workers to a meeting, and from these active elements recruit to the Party.

The Auto Workers' Union is issuing leaflets to explain to the workers the meaning of these victories. It is necessary to state that we did not in previous struggles, nor sufficiently in Detroit, develop our agitation in the strike to explain to the workers the meaning of the victories, the lessons of the strike struggles, and especially to expose the demagogy of the social reformists. The lessons of the Detroit struggles must be made known to all the workers throughout the country. Undoubtedly, these struggles of the Detroit workers are arousing the moods of the workers to struggle in various sections of the country.

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Marx, Founder of Scientific Communism and Organizer of the Communist Party

By F. BROWN

"HIS name and his work will endure through the ages." With these words about Karl Marx, his co-worker Friedrich Engels concluded his talk on March 17, 1883, at the grave of the greatest thinker and revolutionist of the 19th century.

Today Karl Marx' name is not only engraved in the hearts of millions of exploited all over the world, but under the banner of Marxism, revived and developed in the epoch of imperialism by the greatest thinker and revolutionist of the 20th century, Lenin, "the proletariat is storming the heavens." In one-sixth of the world, on the road of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat has overthrown the old order and become the ruler, and today is the builder of the classless society of which Marx "dreamed". In the rest of the world where moribund capitalism is shaking in its foundation, the working class is marching forward and the "days which are the concentrated essence of twenty years", (Marx' letters to Engels) are approaching rapidly.

The greatest merit of Marx and Engels in regard to the working class can be expressed as follows: "they roused the working class to a consciousness of their being, to their self-consciousness; they substituted dreams with science." (Lenin)

WHEN A PERIOD OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION BEGINS

Marx was the great thinker who demonstrated how "history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (*Communist Manifesto*) and in line with his materialist conception of history demonstrated further how

> "...in the social production which human beings carry on they enter *into definite relationships which are determined, that is to say,* independent of their will—productive relationships which correspond to a definite revolutionary phase of the material forces of production. The totality of these productive relationships forms the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which a legal and political super-structure develops and to which definite forms of

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> social consciousness correspond. The mode of production, of material life, determines the general character of the social, political and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence but conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing productive relationships, or (to express the matter in legal terminology) with the property relationship within which they have hitherto moved. This relationship, which has previously been developmental forms of the productive forces, now become metamorphosed into fetters upon production. A period of social revolution then begins."

And so Marx reached the conclusion that "bourgeois relationships of production are the last of the antagonistic forms of the social process of production" (Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*). Previously in the *Manifesto* he pointed out that—

> "...the modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses however this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly contra-posed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Here the materialist conception, the theory of the class struggle, is put forward in its completeness. Here the proletariat is defined by Marx as the class with the historic mission of building the new society, the driving force for the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society; the proletariat which is "disciplined, unified and organized by capitalism itself." The class struggle, said Marx, sooner or later must end with the victory of the working class, which in the historical period of the transformation from private property to the Socialist order establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE THEORY OF DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT

Marx was the first to develop the theory of the proletarian dictatorship. We find his expression already in his *Class Struggle in France in* 1848, written in 1850. In 1852, writing to his friend Weydemeyer he declared explicitly:

> "As far as I am concerned, I cannot claim to have discovered the existence of classes in modern society with all the strife against one another. Middle class historians long ago described the evolution of the class struggle and political economists showed the physiology of classes. I have added a new contribution with the following propositions: first, that the existence of classes is bound up with certain

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> phases of material production; second, that the class struggle leads inevitably to the dictatorship of the proletariat; third, that this dictatorship is but a transition to the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a society of free and equal beings."

He repeated and further developed his conception after the Commune and later in his *Criticism of the Gotha Program* pointed out again

> "... that between the capitalist and Communist systems lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period whose State can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

No mystification by the revisionists, by the traitors to the working class, can obscure or destroy this Marxian monument. Marx not only showed that the prolitariat should become the builder of the new society, that the class struggle must end with the overthrow of the capitalist society and the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship as the instrument for this transformation, as a stage for the development of the classless society, but showed also that to reach this aim the proletariat must be conscious of the aim that it has to reach, conscious of its role, *that it must be organized.*

For decades during the period of the organization of the workers' parties, Marx and Engels were in contact with them. Already in 1844 Marx stood near to the first workers' organizations which at this time came into existence in Switzerland, London and Paris. In this period of "sturm and drang", Communism not only transformed itself from Utopia, from dreams into a scientific theory, but it worked out its program of action which was the *embryo of the present Marxian Communist Party.* It is known how Marx and Engels while occupied in this period with the elaboration of the theory of historical materialism, were at the same time closely connected with the practical development of the proletarian movement.

> "We were not of the opinion at the present time to put the new scientific results only in thick books for the educated world," says Engels. "In the contrary, both of us were active in the political movement, had already among the educated world, especially in Western Germany, a certain following and strong connection with the organized proletarians. We were compelled to expound our scientific point of view but at the same time it was *also important for us to win over to our views the European proletariat and primarily the Germans.*" (My emphasis.—F. B.)

From 1845 Marx was propagating among the members of the Union of the Just his new conceptions, namely that Communism was not a scheme for an order of society, that should be established

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by powerful individuals or through the building of Utopian Socialist colonies, but that Communism meant the organization of the working class into an independent political Party which through revolutionary means should take power. Under the influence of Marx the League of the Just was transformed into the Union of Communists. Marx was present at its Congress in London and it was there that he and Engels were entrusted with the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, the foundation-stone of the Communist Party.

THE UNION OF COMMUNISTS

The first point put forward by the Union of Communists, was the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society based on class contradictions and the foundation of a new classless society, of a society without classes and private property.

The second point contained the conditions for membership: activity and corresponding devotion to the aim, revolutionary energy and zealous propaganda, acceptance of Communism, abstinance from participation in any anti-Communist political national societies, submission to the decisions of the Union, secrecy on all matters concerning the Union, unanimous acceptance into the organization.

The organizational points followed. In these fundamental points of the Statutes we find that Marx' theory takes on already a programmatic character. The final aims of the Union are closely connected with organizational measures, with the task of its membership. It determined already the activity, the Communist discipline, the impermissibility of its members to belong to bourgeois societies. While clearly determining the position of the Union of Communists and its differentiation from other working class parties *at a time when the proletariat was rising*, concentrating its forces in view of the approaching revolution, the Union of Communists while for the support of "every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things", never ceased, however, to instill into the working class the clearist possible understanding of the historical antagonism between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, to make the proletariat conscious of its revolutionary role as the class with the historic mission of overthrowing bourgeois supremacy and the conquest of political power.

In the *Manifesto*, answering the question: in what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole? Marx put forward clearly the international character and the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat.

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> "The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principle of their own by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement. *The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only*: 1) in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, *they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independent of all nationalities*; 2) in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. The Communists, therefore, *are on the one hand, practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand theoretically they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.*"

The conception of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat is here clearly stated and developed. It is another one of those foundation-stones on which his greatest disciple, Lenin, in the struggle against the Mensheviks, developed the role, the tactic and strategy of the Communist Party—the leading role of the Party as the vanguard, which is not a sect but ultimately connected with the masses.

As soon as the *Manisfesto* was off the press in London, the February Revolution broke out in Paris, which had an immediate repercussion in all German States. On March 13, Vienna was in insurrection. On March 18 Berlin followed. Most of the members of the Union of Communists, following the tasks elaborated in the Statutes of the Union, took their places in the battle and everywhere, during this whole period, came to the front through their courage and leadership, clear guidance in the press, in the mass meetings, in the organization of the working class, and as heroes on the barricades. Marx, Engels, Wolf, Freiligrath, were active in issuing the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the leading revolutionary organ of Germany; Born was in Berlin and Leipzig, editing *Das Volk*, which in its first issue declared: "If we speak of the people (das Volk) it seems all the world is included; this paper, however, represents only a definite class inside the State, the working class . . . " Later on, Born was at the head of the Leipzig insurrection in May, 1849, where he actively led the struggle on the barricades and the famous disciplined retreat to Freibourg, Engels, Willich, Moll, took part in the campaign for the National Constitution in Baden, and other Communists were active in the different cities, in the provinces, as the real organizers of the struggle.

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The 1848 revolution ended with the victory of the nobility who, however, were forced to a compromise with the defeated bourgeoisie who were in possession of economic power. The Communists, the heroes of so many battles on the barricades, retreated to London, where the Union was reorganized and became the center of the international revolutionary movement—Blanquists, Chartists, Polish revolutionists, Hungarian revolutionists united, hoping for a new revolutionary explosion and actively preparing for it.

Marx, however, at this moment was of the opinion that the proletariat was not ready for its battle, that it needed a period of education and organization to make it fit for its role. The position of the enthusiasts did not correspond to this line and the Union split.

THE INDEPENDENT AIM OF THE PROLETARIAT

The headquarters of the Union was transferred to Cologne, where Marx revised the Statutes pointing out that the most important aim of the Union was:

> "To bring about through all means of propaganda and political struggle the destruction of the old society leading to the spiritual, political and economic liberation of the proletariat, to the Communist revolution. The Union represents in the different stages of development, which the struggle of the working class has to pass through, always the interests of the movement as a whole, as it does always its best for the unification and organization of all revolutionary forces of the proletariat. It is secret and indissoluble; it cannot be dissolved so long as the proletarian revolution has not reached its final aim."

Here Marx goes a step forward, putting clearly the independent aim of the proletariat and its role in close connection with the idea that a period of education and reorganization is necessary.

From Cologne, the propaganda of the Union was spread all over Germany. The arrest of Nothyng, the emissary of the Union in Leipzig, led to the famous Communist trial of Cologne in 1852, which brought the Union of Communists to an end. During this whole period of "sturm und drang" and revolution, the foundation of Marxism had already been laid. Marx appeared not only as the theoretician of the proletariat, but as the organizer of its Party, of its vanguard, which already in 1848 attempted to exploit the bourgeois revolution for its own end, in the interests of the working class.

With the defeat, the counter-revolutionary period set in. But soon the capitalist and national developments swept away the dams built by feudal powers. The gold discoveries, the first construction

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of railroads, steamboats, the development of the mining industry, the development of factory systems, of banks, the triumph of natural science and at the same time the revival of the struggle for national unity in Italy, Germany, Poland; the defeat of Czarist Russia, the European gendarme in the Crimean war, the defeat of Austria, the other European gendarme in Italy (1859 at Salferino), the Civil War in America between the North and South, the emancipation of the serfs in Russia (1861),—all these were signs of the consolidation of the bourgeois revolution, of the development of capitalism.

Contemporaneously, this period prepared the ground for the political class struggle, the conditions for the organization of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

The cruel exploitation of the English workers by the bourgeoisie, which was hiring strikebreakers and cheap foreign labor in order to crush the unions, resulted not in the weakening, but on the contrary, in the strengthening of the union, of the fighting spirit of the working class. The revival of the working class movement in France, Germany and other countries, the sympathy of the English and French proletariat for the Polish insurrection (1863) crushed by Czarism with bestial brutality, called the attention of the workers to the idea of international solidarity, to the necessity of international organization. For the Communists, the period for the reestablishment of the Party of the workers was maturing.

So the International Workingmen's Association, i.e., the First International, was founded on September 28, 1864. Marx was its theoretical leader, its organizer. The First International is a second step forward in the history of the international labor movement, in the building of the proletarian vanguard, of the Communist Party.

The cardinal points of the International, following the Marxian principle, were the organization and the building of the leadership of the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and the struggle against the half-reactionary, adventurist tendencies within the working class—against sects, for an active, fighting, workers' Party.

Marx' Inaugural Address, delivered before the First International, was based upon the *Communist Manifesto.*

The membership cards contain this fundamental principle:

> "That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class itself;
>
> "That the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean a struggle for clas privileges and monopolies but a

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struggle for equal rights and equal obligations, for the abolition of every kind of class-domination;

"That the economic subjection of the worker under the monopolists of the means of production, *i.-e.*, of the sources of life is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, all mental degradation and political dependence;

"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated;

"That all endeavors for this great aim have failed as yet because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries, because of the absence of the fraternal tie of unity between the working classes of the different countries;

"That the emancipation is neither a local nor a national problem, but a problem of social character embracing every civilized country, the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical cooperation of the most progressive countries;

"Therefore, workers of the world, unite."

MARX THE ORGANIZER OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

One of the fundamental points in the Statutes of the International was the creation of a centralized, efficient Party, *the basis of which was the sections and its head the General Council.* It says, "In its fight against the collective power of the possessing classes, the proletariat can act as a class when it organizes its own political Party, opposed to all parties founded by the owning classes. Such an organization of the proletariat in political parties is absolutely necessary for the assurance of the victory of the social revolution and the attainment of its final goal, the abolition of classes." (Statutes of the International). This is one of the most important heritages of the First International—the necessity of the political Party of the proletariat, its centralized form, the Party as the most important weapon of the revolutionary struggle. A struggle without organization is impossible. Organization without a central head and central organ, drawing up a unified plan and supervising its execution, is a chimercial organization. Here the principle of centralization as against the federative form insisted upon by the anarchists is put forward.

The Statutes as well as the Inaugural Address, the whole history of the First International, openly and clearly shows that Marx' aim was to build the International into a fighting Party, into the real vanguard of the working class, into an organization for struggle in place of the Socialist or half-Socialist sects. All along, the history of the International shows a continuous struggle of the Central Council against the sects, against their immature attempts to maintain themselves within the International. This fight was carried on in all the Congresses and even more in the negotiations

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of the Central Council with the various sections. In practically all the Congresses—Geneva 1866, Lausanne 1867, Brussels 1868—Marx fought against the Proudhonist influence and later on, in Basle 1869 and Hague 1872, against the anarchism of Bakunin which led to a split of the International.

Not only did Marx and Engels carry on a relentless struggle against the petty bourgeois views of Proudhon and the Anarchist Bakunin, but also against the conciliatory attitude of the leaders of the German Party. Engels in a letter to Wilhelm Libknecht written in May 1872 said: "At any rate it is necessary to put an end to these platonic relations; the German workers should be either within the International or outside of it . . . If you personally will be indifferent to this matter, we will be compelled to turn to others, but be assured that one way or the other we will get clarity in this matter". Thus we see that Marx and Engels carried on the struggle on two fronts—against the conspiratorial sectarianism and fractionalism of the anarchists as well as against the petty bourgeois opportunism of Wilhelm Libknecht and others.

In these years of hard struggle inside the Party, the Marxian principle was hammered out against all deviations—the principle of subordination of all phases of the labor movement to the Party. The International, at least in principle, directed the trade union movement (the school of Socialism), directed strikes, etc. Through the International, Marx called the attention of the workers "not to exaggerate the final results of their daily struggle; they must not forget that they are fighting against the effects and not against the causes . . . that they are employing palliatives that do not cure the disease." It was Marx who put the revolutionary trade union movement on the road on which the Red trade unions are marching forward today, showing that the trade union movement must develop into political struggle, that the economic defensive fight must be turned into the fight of one class against another, that "the struggle of class against class is a political struggle". Under the guidance of Marx, the International (the Party) fought against the opportunism of the time. In the start of the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars the International considered the problem of war as a vital problem for the working class to solve—namely to side with the working class against the bourgeoisie or with the bourgeoisie against the working class.

At the Lausanne Congress (1867) the International pointed out that war cannot be prevented through the abolition of the army, but that *a change of the social system is necessary*. And further on, the General Council, led by Marx, adopted the famous resolution concerning the Austro-Prussian war in which this war is

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branded as the quarrel of two despots and the proletariat is advised *to utilize the given situation for its own emancipation.*

Along this line, in 1868, the General Council wrote to the trade unions:

> "The foundation of society must be the brotherhood of the toilers, free from petty nationalism. Labor has no fatherland."

And in its Address on the Franco-Prussian war we find the following:

> "While official France and official Germany plunge into a fratricidal struggle, the workers send each other messages of friendship and peace. This one great fact, without precedent in the history of the past, upholds the prospect of a better future. It proves that, contrary to the old society with its economic distress and its political insanity, a new order arises whose international principle will be peace, because the same principle—labor—will rule every nation."

Here we find the true international spirit of the First International that took concrete form in the refusal of W. Liebknecht and Bebel to vote for the war credits. Here the International showed the toilers all over the world their position on war.

> "There are wars and wars. There are unjust and bad wars, and there is the war *for one's own rights—the revolution.* The revolution is violent. . . the workers must, one fine day, seize the political upper hand and must build up the new organization of labor. They must overthrow the old politics. . . . If, however, that is the case, we must recognize that in most of the continental countries, force must be the lever of our revolution. For the final establishment of the rule of labor, we must at a given moment, appeal to force." (*Marx.*)

The moment at which the workers should have seized political power, should have used force, should have changed the war into a war for their own rights, came with the glorious struggle of the Communards. Marx, who soresaw their defeat, did not condemn, but studied the lesson of the Commune; and while the Internationalists were actively participating on the battlefields, Marx was in constant touch with the Communards and advised them in their struggles. The experiences of the Commune enriched the teachings of the International, included in the famous Address of the General Council, and in *The Civil War in France,* written by Marx. The Commune buried the old illusions and methods of struggle of the working class. It was the first experiment of the form of the proletarian State on the basis of which the greatest Marxist of the 20th century, Lenin, further elaborated the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and gave it concrete life in the establishment of the Soviet Union.

Certainly one of the big weaknesses of the Commune was

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the lack of a centralized mass workers' Party, subordinated to the International—"the influence of the Proudhonists and Blanquists was overwhelming" (Engels).

The defeat of the Paris Commune broke the labor movement. Bakunin was developing his struggle through his forces organized secretly inside the International in his Alliance Internationale, against the centralized leadership of the International which he characterized as a personal dictatorship of Marx. He raised the cry for individual liberty against the Marxian theory of the State, putting forward as the best method to eliminate the State, not the methods of mass struggle but the conspiracy and the putsch.

This struggle came to a climax at the Hague Congress with the split and the transfer of the headquarters of the International to New York, where it was dissolved in 1876.

Why was the First International dissolved? Engels answers this question:

> "The old International is completely finished. That is good. It belonged to the period . . . when the oppression ruling Europe and the beginning of the reawakening of the labor movement prescribed unity and abstinence from all internal polemics. It was the moment when the common, cosmopolitan interests of the proletarian could come to the front."

He later said:

> "But it has outlived itself in its old form. . . . I believe that the next International—after the writings of Marx have operated for a few years—*will be directly Communist and will unhesitatingly raise the banner of our principles.*"

THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

It was only after years that the writings of Marx and Engels, revived by the genuine Marxists, the Russian Bolsheviks in the struggle against the revisionism of the Mensheviks and the revisionism and opportunism of the leaders of the Second International, after the Marxian principles were developed by Lenin in the epoch of imperialism and the Marxian principles brought the proletariat to victory in one-sixth part of the world, that the real followers of Marx in all countries, under guidance of Lenin, built the Communist International, realizing the world Party of Communism which the First International was intended to be, according to the conception of Marx and Engels. At this point already it should be emphasized with the words of Comrade Stalin:

> "Leninism originated and grew strong in conflict with the opportunism of the Second International, a conflict essential to success in the struggle against capitalism. . . . We must never forget that between the epoch of Marx and Engels and the epoch of Lenin came the epoch when the opportunism of the Second International held un-

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restricted sway; and that a ruthless fight with the opportunism was one of Lenin's chief tasks."

While the First International had a revolutionary theory and was combining—following the Marxian principle—practice with theory, the practice of the Second International was a reformist one and wanted to reform the Marxian theory to suit the reformist practice. Its "revolutionary" Marxism of which Kautsky was one of the outstanding representatives, was only a **"formal"** one, insofar as the "orthodox" Marxists, in order not to endanger the "unity of the Party" were trimming their theories to placate the opportunists.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The whole life of the Second International; its failure to subordinate the whole labor movement to the revolutionary goal; the independence of the different branches of the labor movement in regard to the Party; the independence of the parties from the International; the lack of international centralization; its regard of the Marxian teachings on the role of the Party as the leader, as the vanguard of the revolutionary movement; its looseness, its lack of Party discipline; the substitution of the leadership by parliamentary fractions; the independence of the trade unions from the Party; its perversion of the theory of class struggle converted into the conception of gradual mitigation of class antagonisms; the revision of the Marxian revolutionary theory of the State into the petty bourgeois conception of the State as a neutral organization which stands above classes; the revision of the Marxian theory of the seizure of power by the proletariat to the theory of "evolution towards Socialism"; the substitution of Marxian revolutionary theories of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the destruction of the old capitalist state machine with the theory of the capture of the parliamentary majority; its opportunism in the colonial and war problems, the two testing stones of Marxian orthodoxy, characterized especially by the position of the German social democrats in their slogan of national defense, in defense of the fatherland, disregarding the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions; the attitude of the parties all along the history of the Second International of accepting resolutions only in principle and in carrying on at the same time their opportunist practices—these are all characteristics of the reformism and opportunism that could not fail to bring the Second International to bankruptcy in the first big trial. The big trial came in 1914. "Overwhelmed by opportunism, the Second International has died." (Lenin)

In the storm of 1914 the leaders of the Second International

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either sank into an orgy of social patriotism and some of them, draped in ministerial robes (Guesde, Vandervelde) followed the steps of the "orthodox" Kautsky who "degraded Marxism to unheard of prostitution" (Lenin), sank into the swamp of cowardice and bankruptcy. There are the heroes of the thesis: "the International is not an effective instrument in time of war; it is in substance an instrument of peace". What an irony of "fate" for His Exellency Kautsky, for the ex-"orthodox" who in struggle against the representatives of German reformism had said

> "...since David has discovered a bit of Socialism in the Tariff League, one must say that many of our comrades find Socialism everywhere in present society—in every shower, in every public urinal. Should this indeed very harmless and convenient method of transforming capitalist society into a Socialist society become popular, *then it will be time for the social democrats to call themselves Communists again* (our emphasis) in order to differentiate themselves from this kind of Socialism, as did the author of the *Communist Manifesto*." (*Neue Zeit*, 1898.)

Yes, after the bankruptcy of the Second International, after the shameless Kautsky bankruptcy, it was necessary for the proletariat to change the name of its vanguard, to build the Communist Party and break away from the prostitutes of Marxism who later wrote:

> "In time of peace the natural position of the social democracy is to be the representative of the lower strata of the people, of the opposition against any government—until it grows so strong that we can take over the government ourselves. In time of war it is put in the unpleasant situation of supporting one government. At any rate, whenever it takes sides with one of the belligerent states, is this government their own, then it means to grant to the same government, to which in time of peace we deny every man, every penny, the means for the conduct of the war." (Kautsky.)

There was the Bolshevik Party with Lenin at its head which already at the beginning of the world slaughter, following the Marxian principles of the First International, appealed to the masses for struggle against imperialist war, to transform the imperialist war into civil war. It was Lenin and the Bolsheviks who, in view of the bankruptcy of the Second International, saw the necessity of organizing the forces of the proletariat in a powerful party, able to lead the masses into struggle against the capitalist governments, against war, for political power. In his article, "Position and Tasks of the Socialist Parties, November 1914", Lenin says:

> "Overwhelmed by opportunism, the Second International has died. Down with opportunism and long live the Third International, purged not only of 'deserters' (as the *Golos* would wish it) but also

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> of opportunism! The Second International did its full share of useful preparatory work in the preliminary organization of the proletarian masses during the long 'peaceful' epoch of most cruel capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. *The Third International is confronted with the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, for the victory of Socialism.*" (Our emphasis.)

Here Lenin put lown already the cornerstone of the World Communist Party.

In the same days, in his thesis on the tasks of the revolutionary social democracy, he writes:

> "Let the opportunists 'save' the legal organizations at the price of betraying their convictions; the revolutionary social democrats will utilize the organizational habits and connections of the working class to organize its legal forms of organization befitting an epoch of crisis in order to fight for Socialism and to unite the workers not with the chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries but with the workers of all countries. The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish. The working masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International.... Only along this road will the proletariat be able to break away from under the influence of the chauvinist bourgeoisie and sooner or later in one form or another, will take decisive steps on the road to real freedom of peoples and on the road to Socialism. Long live the international brotherhood of workers united against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries. *Long live a proletarian International, free from opportunism.*" (Our emphasis.)

The letter of Stalin* in answer to the attempts of the contraband Trotskyites to deny the historic role played by Lenin in his fight against the opportunism of the Second International *before and during the war* remains *the* guide for the proper historical appreciation of the role of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the founding of the Third International. The struggle for the Third International carried on by Lenin could not bear fruit without carrying on a sharp struggle against the left elements, headed by Rosa Luxemburg, who were not ready to make a final break both organizationally and ideologically with the open opportunists and centrists. In the words of Comrade Stalin—

> "Do these errors of the German left, which are part of the history of the pre-war period, not bear witness that the left social democrats, in spite of their radicalism, had not yet freed themselves from their Menshevist trappings?"

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* Printed in the January, 1932, issue of *The Communist.*

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

During the whole war period and prior to it, Lenin was fighting to bring together the proletarian forces and the left revolutionary elements of the Second International. He was patiently and comradely exposing before them their mistakes and deviations. He was carrying on a relentless struggle not only against open chauvinism but particularly against the centrism represented by Kautsky in Germany. But the struggle against the centrist Kautsky would not be complete without a struggle against the opportunism and the bombastic left phrases of Trotsky in Russia. In 1915 Lenin wrote:

> "Roland Holst as well as Rakovsky and also Trotsky are, in my opinion, all of them, the most harmful Kautskians in the sense that all of them are, in varying forms, in favor of unity with the opportunists; all of them, in varying forms, trim opportunism; all of them practice (in a different way) eclecticism instead of revolutionary Marxism."

And further on:

> "In different countries this main fraud of Kautskianism expresses itself in different forms. Trotsky in Russia, while also repudiating this idea, equally defends unity with the opportunists and the chauvinist groups of *Nasha Zaria*. Rakovsky in Rumania, while declaring war on opportunism as the one responsible for the collapse of the International, is at the same time prepared to recognize the justification of the idea of the defense of one's country. All this is the expression of that evil which the Dutch Marxists (Gorter, Pannekoek) called 'passive radicalism' and which amounts to substitution of revolutionary Marxism by eclecticism in theory and to cringing or impotence in the face of opportunism in practice."
>
> "Here is an example," said Lenin, "of the bombastic phrases with which Trotsky always justified opportunism: 'The revolutionary fight against the war is an empty and meaningless exclamation which the heroes of the Second International are such masters in uttering, if by revolutionary action we understand something different than action against one's own government also in time of war. One needs only to think of it a little and he will understand it.' In this too Trotsky repeats the 'methodology of social patriotism.' "

The struggle to bring together all the sincere revolutionary forces demanded, that they should be freed from the errors of their semi-Menshevist trappings as shown in the case of Rosa Luxemburg. Lenin, while appreciating their record, which contained "great and truly revolutionary deeds," continued in a sharp and decisive manner to fight and expose their semi-Menshevist wavering which, in the case of Rosa Luxemburg, flowed out of her fundamental mistake, based on the mechanical interpretation of Marxism; her belief in the spontaneity of the historic process; her error in the

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Marxian theory of the accumulation of capital, her mistakes on the national problem, on the role of the poor peasants, and finally the mistake of not understanding the necessity of breaking completely with the opportunism of the Second International.

These errors of Luxemburg certainly harmed the development of the German proletarian revolution. After her break with the centrists, and when she became a Communist, after the heroic death of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Lenin could say that the true proletarian Communist International has lost two of its best members and leaders.

LENIN THE ORGANIZER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Lenin appears here in his full light as the organizer of the International, as the coordinator of the revolutionary forces, the great Marxian who knew how to combine masterly theory with practice.

Along this line, one month before the Zimmerwald Conference, he made a step forward for the coordination and unification of the Marxian elements in pointing out that revolutionary social democratic elements exist in many countries in spite of the bankruptcy of the International, of the chauvinists, of the centrists "a la Kautsky", that the spirit of Socialism was alive among the German workers who were gathering under the banners of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It says:

> "To unite these Marxian elements, however small their numbers may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real Socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism, this is the task of the day. . . . Without a series of revolutions, the so-called democratic peace is a petty bourgeois utopia. The only real program of action then would be the Marxian program, which brings the masses a complete and clear understanding of what has happened; which explains what imperialism is and how to fight against it; which declares openly that opportunism has brought about the collapse of the Second International; *which appeals to the workers to build up a Marxian International, openly, without and against the opportunists.*" (Our emphasis.)

The Zimmerwald Conference in September, 1915, and Kienthal, in April, 1916, are the first concrete organizational steps for the building of the Communist International. In both conferences the Bolsheviks under leadership of Lenin laid down in struggle against social pacifism of the Kautskians the fundamental principle, the organization and tactic of the world Communist Party. The Bolshevik minority was firm in this direction and remained adamant for the slogan "For the Third International."

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So the left wing led by Lenin in the two historic conferences laid the foundation of the world Communist Party, of the Leninist vanguard of the world proletariat. The moment for the concretization of this "dream" of Marx was approaching; the victorious October Revolution in Russia not only broke the front of the imperialist war, established the dictatorship of the proletariat in one-sixth of the world, but created the historic situation in which the Communist International came into existence which was prepared by Lenin in the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International before and after the outbreak of the world war, and opened a new epoch of world history in which the proletariat is accomplishing and will continue in its mission of breaking the old and building a new classless society.

What Lenin foresaw in 1902 in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* became a reality:

> "History now sets us an urgent task, more revolutionary than any of the urgest tasks of the proletariat of any other country. The accomplishment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful support of not only European reaction but (as we can already state) of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."

Not only did the Russian proletariat become the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat, but the leadership of the Third International rightfully and naturally came into the hands of the Party of Lenin, into the hands of the Bolsheviks, the only Marxian left wing in the Second International.

The Communist International was actually formed at its First Congress in March, 1919, in Moscow. From these days the Communist International extended its branches all over the world. There are practically no countries or sections where the Party of Lenin does not exist and carry into effect the dictates of the two great masters, Marx and Lenin.

> "The First International has laid the foundation for the international proletarian fight for Socialism. The Second International was a period in which the ground was being prepared for a wide movement spread over a number of countries. The Third International has taken the fruit of labor of the Second International, has cut off its opportunism, social chauvinism, bourgeois and petty bourgeois filth and commenced to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Lenin.*)

At its Second Congress, under the guidance of Lenin, it established the most important principle of organization and activities of the International and has carried the principle of the Bolshevik strategy and tactics on to the international arena.

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We must follow the teachings of Lenin that "the strictest centralization and discipline is required in the political Party of the proletariat in order to correctly and successfully place the organizational role of the proletariat," the teachings that "without an iron Party, hardened in the struggle; without a Party enjoyed the confidence of all the honest elements of the class, without a Party capable of keeping in touch with the sentiments of the masses and influencing them, it is impossible to successfully conduct such a struggle."

From the days of its foundation the Communist International was enriched by a treasure of revolutionary experiences. Its sections have been steeled in hundreds of battles. While leading in one-sixth of the world the phalanxes of millions in building the new society, guiding the heroic struggle of the Chinese masses in strengthening and widening their commune, "at this moment of transition to a new round of big clashes between classes and between states, a new round of wars and revolutions," under its leadership the proletariat is preparing itself for new gigantic battles, toward the accomplishment of the aims laid down by its founders.

There is no example in history of such an imposing monument as the growing of the new society in one-sixth of the world, of the existence of a world party of millions, honoring the memory of the two geniuses of the proletarian revolutionary movement who will go down through the centuries of the history of the future—Karl Marx and Lenin.

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The End of Relative Capitalist Stabilization and the Tasks of Our Party

EXCERPTS FROM REPORT TO SIXTEENTH PLENUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C.P. U.S.A., JANUARY 28, 1933.

By EARL BROWDER

COMRADES, the introduction to the examination of the specific problems of the American Party has been pretty well taken care of in the two reports that we have received on the Twelfth Plenum of E.C.C.I. These reports have brought out very sharply the deepening crisis of capitalism, the growing attacks upon the masses, the increasing revolutionary upsurge of the masses, the extreme sharpening of the war danger and, outstanding in this period, the sharp contrast between the two world systems, between growing Socialism in the Soviet Union and rotting, decaying capitalism. We have all of us had the lessons of this great contrast especially impressed upon our minds in the past few days by the reading of the speech of Comrade Stalin in the recent Party conference, which is published in today's *Daily Worker* as a special supplement.

These things provide us with the foundation and the background for examining specifically our problems in America. I think it would do no harm to remind ourselves again how Stalin characterized the role of our Party in the world revolutionary movement. In 1929, when Stalin was performing that tremendous service that he did directly for our Party, in guiding the work of the American Commission in May, 1929, he said, the American Communist Party is one of those very few Communist Parties of the world that are entrusted by history with tasks of decisive importance from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. We should recall these words of Stalin, not for the purpose of giving ourselves a subjective satisfaction of feeling that we are important, but for the purpose of very deeply impressing upon us the tremendous responsibilities that we carry—responsibilities for which we must account before the entire world proletariat—and the very small degree to which as yet we have prepared ourselves for meeting these responsibilities.

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The recent Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. has given not only the general orientation for the period of entrance into a new round of wars and revolutions. It has further clarified questions of daily work for our Party, as well as other parties of the C. I.

Some of the main features of the Twelfth E. C. C. I. Plenum in this respect had already been worked out ever more detailed for us in the resolution for our Fourteenth Plenum last April. We should consider our Fourteenth Plenum Resolution as a concretization of the Twelfth E. C. C. I. Plenum for America, and it holds good with the same full force as the decisions of the Twelfth E. C. C. I. Plenum—as our main directives. The importance of these directives of the Fourteenth Plenum for the work of our Party is more than ever emphasized in the past months since our Fifteenth Plenum by the fact of our advances in almost all fields of work and struggle.

These advances which we have made serve to raise more sharply than ever, because in a more practical form, every one of the questions raised by the Resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum and to impress more deeply upon us that these tasks have not been accomplished, that these tasks remain the tasks which we must find the means of accomplishing, which guide our everyday work.

Our Seventh Convention marked the basic, historic turn of our Party on to the path required for the third period, on to the path of preparing the Party for decisive class battles; that is, the Seventh Convention gave us the major strategic line as established in the Sixth World Congress for this whole period—the line of mass struggles, the fight for the streets, independent leadership of the masses for their immediate demands, politicalization of these struggles, the main fire against social fascism, especially its left variety, and so on. Our Eighth Convention, for which we are now preparing, has the task of carrying through this turn towards Bolshevization. Our Eighth Convention does not have an independent political task separate from that of the Seventh Convention. Its task is to carry forward and complete the process begun by the Seventh Convention, by the Sixth World Congress, especially by liquidating all of the remnants of our social democratic past, which still hamper us and hold us back from completing the turn which we began with the acceptance of the C. I. Address and the Seventh Convention of our Party.

It is true that, during the whole process of our Party's development from the period of the C. I. Address and our Seventh Convention there has been one line, there has been no change in line, and there is now no change in line. There has, however, from time to time, arisen the necessity in our Party and in the Communist

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International, to recognize and to struggle against certain distortions of this line. The appearance of such distortions—right and "left," and the necessity for special struggles against them, has been taken as the basis for the charge of the renegades that the line of the Communist International and the line of the American Party represents a zig-zag. We have not sufficiently exposed this slander, and especially we have not sufficiently combatted the echoes of this idea that sometimes appear in our own ranks.

THE STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

We must make the Party understand that we are still in the process of making the historical turn, called for by the Sixth World Congress, to the conditions and tasks of the third period, to the end of relative capitalist stabilization, and the new round of wars and revolutions. The struggle against distortions, against right and "left" deviations, is a permanent feature of the life of the Communist Party. We have had experiences in America which more or less coincide with the international experience of the other Parties. Just before and at the Twelfth Plenum we witnessed the sharp emergence of a right distortion and the tendency towards *kvostism* (tailism), and the tendency towards avoiding the leadership of struggles, on the plea of the unpreparedness of our Parties; furthermore also, of turning our very necessary and essential self-criticism of continued weaknesses into attacks against the main strategic line. While these questions were being raised on an international scale, simultaneously we were facing corresponding problems at the same period, in or own Fifteenth Central Committee meeting, which met almost at the same time as the Twelfth E.C.C.I. Plenum.

We are faced with the task of mastering the Bolshevik weapon of the struggle on two fronts, against right opportunist tendencies and, simultaneously, against leftist distortions, both of which find their main breeding ground in the traditional sectarianism of our Party. The importance of a speedy development and a quickening of the tempo of our work in this respect is emphasized—if we recall—in another statement of Comrade Stalin.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

In 1929 already, Comrade Stalin in pointing out the inevitable development of a crisis said with regard to our Party:

> "I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist

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> Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared of assuming leadership of the impending class struggle in America."

Comrades, when Comrade Stalin uttered those words, American capitalism was at the peak of its development. That was at the moment when the right opportunists were speaking of American exceptionalism and of the Victorian Age. How much more weighty, how much more full of immediate significance for us, are these words of Comrade Stalin, when we review the developments since our Fourteenth Plenum, even since our Fifteenth Plenum, in the United States.

Just in the past few months, we witness not only the development of the economic factors, deepening of the crisis, not only the sharpening of the difficulties of the bourgeoisie, not only the intensification of the attacks against the working class. We witness very decisive beginnings of upsurge of the masses in struggle against these conditions, in resistance to the capitalist offensive, in the beginnings of development of a counter-offensive.

Further, we see the serious beginnings of leadership, political and organizational, given to the growing upsurge by our Communist Party. It is only necessary to mention a few facts to establish this. The Chicago action of October 31 in the broad united front demonstration before City Hall, a development of considerable historical significance; the Birmingham demonstration of November 7, when some thousands of whites and Negroes demonstrated jointly on the streets of a Southern city—something new in the history of America; the National Hunger March at the beginning of December at the opening of Congress in Washington, not something entirely new (it was repeating the Hunger March of the previous year), but something new in the sense of a higher order of action than the previous Hunger March; the Farmers' Conference in Washington and especially the spread, from that Farmers' Conference, of the plans of struggle which have seized upon hundreds of thousands of farmers in the short period since that conference, and which has set a fire under the very seats of the ruling class; the growing upsurge among the Negro masses, coming to the point already that even in Harlem, where we thought we had been sort of check-mated or something had happened to us, there we see that we are making tremendous inroads in the last weeks, so that even the bourgeois press is forced to devote front page and editorial columns to dealing with what Communists are doing and the Communist program on the Negro question and the actions which are taking place throughout the country on the basis of this program.

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THE GROWING MASS UPSURGE

We can mention further the growing, deepening ferment among the middle class elements and especially at this moment among the students and intellectuals, which has great political importance for our Party, and at the same time presents certain Bolshevik tests to our Party of its ability to handle, to direct, to control these currents. Especially in these past months, we must know that we have begun some serious penetration into the A. F. of L. and that in the period since the Fifteenth Plenum, small as our work in this field has been, inadequate as it has been, yet even this small amount of work and this low quality of work has proven the tremendous opportunities to such an extent as to already place us back into the position which we had surrendered for some time, the position of leaders of the national opposition movement to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy—a position which was confirmed and expressed by our rank and file conference held in Cincinnati coinciding with the A. F. of L. Convention. In this same period we see the beginnings of our penetration into the organized ranks of the Socialist Party, winning over a large number of individual workers in support of our actions and, in many cases, the joining of our Party, the winning even of whole branches of the Socialist Party and the development of a deep ferment and the beginnings of division between the rank and file and leaders under the pressure of events and issues and especially under the pressure of the criticism of our Party. Especially significant for this whole period is the struggle of the automobile workers in Detroit. In this strike we have an expression of this broad mass upsurge already coming to open mass struggle in the heart of American trustified industries, industries of mass production. The automobile industry is second in importance to American capitalism—the steel industry being the first—and represents even a higher technic of mass production. And here in the stronghold and citadel of capitalism we have organized and are leading mass revolt, mass struggle.

Finally I would mention as a good characteristic of these past months the Lenin Memorial Meetings which took place just a week ago. These Lenin Memorial Meetings have a special significance for us: Without any unusual preparations of our Party, we suddenly found that these memorial meetings have been transformed by the response of the masses into great demonstrations, such as usually have required tremendous efforts and concentration of our Party to produce. The meeting in Milwaukee which Comrade Minor already spoke of is perhaps most significant of all, where thousands of Socialist Party workers turned out to our meet-

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ing, and where the discrepancy between our expectations and the result was dramatized by the necessity to move from a small hall to a big hall at the hour when the meeting was scheduled. The same experience was had in many, many cities. Philadelphia, I understand, had 8,000 people at the Lenin memorial meeting. In New York I am quite sure that the same tendency at the Lenin memorial meetings was strictly limited by the size of the halls made available, and could easily have been half as large again or perhaps twice as large if hall had been provided. [Interjection by Comrade Hathaway: In the Coliseum they were still coming when the meeting was ended.] Way over in Brooklyn, where I spoke, the hall was jammed with 5,000 people, while at least 1,600 to 1,700 were standing up throughout the meeting; every seat was taken at 7:30 in the evening. Way over in Brooklyn, where we never thought of mass meetings of that size before! The same characteristics can be found wherever you touch the connections of our Party with the masses. We can say that in all fields, after a brief period of hesitation and falling behind, we again are becoming the decisive subjective factor in the development of the struggles of the masses.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL FASCISM

We see further evidence that we are beginning to learn how to conduct our work, in the "left" maneuvers which the reformists are going through at the present moment. The development of the objective factors of the crisis would not be sufficient to explain fully these left maneuvers of the reformists and social fascists. To bring them to this point requires also the conscious intervention of our Party with correct Bolshevik mass work. Today we already have a situation which can be described by the capitalist writers in the words I am going to read to you from an editorial in the *World-Telegram,* just the day before yesterday, I believe it was. Dealing with the article of William Green published in the *Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce,* in which that capitalist organization broadcasts Mr. Green's threats of retaliation against the same capitalists of the American Chamber of Commerce, the *World-Telegram* says:

> "The significance of this defiant note is not that here is a new Mr. Green speaking. It is that a new union labor is speaking. Mr. Green never has marched ahead of his rank and file. That he now speaks militantly, desperately shows that he has been forced by his members to do so. The same is true of Mr. O'Neal and his farmers. These warnings are not bluff. Behind them is the explosive desperation of a vast majority of American citizens."

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These are the leaders of the bourgeoisie, whose judgement we cannot always rely upon for our own purpose, but whose opinions are sometimes quite valuable, especially when they are speaking against themselves and their own agents.

In such conditions, with the deepening and sharpening of the objective factors in the crisis, with the rising upsurge of the masses, and with the beginnings of Bolshevik mass work by our Party, we have to take seriously the possibility, even the probability, of sudden sharp, quick developments of mass struggle.

Comrade Gusev spoke in some detail about this question at the Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., specifically in relation to America and other Anglo-Saxon countries. It think it is worth while to quote a paragraph from Comrade's speech, which has already been printed in *The Communist* for January. Comrade Gusev said:

> "Three years of monstrous economic crisis . . . has called forth intense upheavals which assume . . . such a catastrophic character that one cannot exclude the possibility of the U.S.A. or Great Britain or Australia pushing forward to the front with regard to the swing of the revolutionary demonstrations of the proletariat and the masses of workers in general. In such a case it will be up to the Parties in the Anglo-American countries to prepare the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, which implies the same direct practical tasks confronting now the Communist Parties of Poland and Germany."

THE HIGHLY EXPLOSIVE CONDITION OF SOCIETY

I would cite just a few examples, still on a small scale, of the possibilities of sudden developments in America. The outstanding example during the crisis period was the great March 6 outpouring of 1930. This was certainly such a sudden mass movement coming unannounced. A similar character was taken by the Bonus March last summer; although in the initiating of this march we played quite a decisive role, yet it is impossible to say that the march was the product of our political and organizational capacities. It was one of those great mass upheavals. The farmers' movement has much of the same character. And especially in the first stages of this farmers' movement last summer it began quite independently of any existing organizations, without preparation, without leadership, with very little participation by us in the first immediate stages, although we reacted correctly and quickly to it and rapidly were able to direct this spontaneous mass movement into channels determined by us.

And finally, a phenomena of the same character which reflects the highly explosive condition of society, is this craze of Tech-

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nocracy, which almost overnight spread the country and became a seven-day wonder. A new way out of the crisis, the emancipation of humanity from all their ills! There is a revolutionary significance also in this phenomena of Technocracy, especially as it affected the masses, in addition to its counter-revolutionary significance as a means of misleading, befuddling and holding back the revolutionary development of the stirring discontent of the workers.

In such a situation as this, the role of the Party, the importance of the Party as a Party of action, becomes more decisive than ever. Our responsibility becomes greater, the consequences of our good work reflect themselves with one hundredfold intensity, and the consequences of our weaknesses and mistakes show themselves in greater harm, greater damage than ever before. The subjective factor, our Party and its work, becomes decisive. In such a situation as this it is possible even for a small Party, if it is a Bolshevik Party, to play a decisive historical role. In such a situation as this, a small Party such as ours will never become a large Party, a mass Party, unless it knows how to perform as a Party of action, leading masses in struggle.

TO BOLDLY INITIATE AND LEAD THE MASSAS IN ACTION

It is necessary, or at least permissable, to quote from Comrade Lenin on this question, the words he spoke at the Third World Congress of the Communist International. He said:

> "It is possible that even a small Party, for instance the English or American Party, after having made a thorough study of the course of political development, and having familiarized itself with the life and habits of the non-Party masses, will be able at an appropriate moment, to develop a revolutionary movement. If it will, at such a moment, come out with its slogans, and will succeed in having a million workers follow it, then you will have before you a fully developed mass movement."

But what is necessary for us to emphasize at this moment is that to do this thing described by Comrade Lenin, requires a Bolshevized Party, able clearly to see its way and boldly to initiate and lead the masses in action. It requires a Party that is able to carry through the decisions of the Fourteenth Plenum.

In this general situation the problem arises sharp and clear—the dominant problem, they key problem to the whole future development—who is going to lead these stirring, rising masses? Will it be the Communist Party or will it be the "left"-maneuvering social fascists? This is the decisive question and we will decide this question against the social fascists, and therefore against capitalism, and for the proletarian revolution and for the Com-

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munist Party, only if we learn how to carry through a correct Bolshevik mass policy, how to perform the tasks established by the Fourteenth Plenum, how to smash the sectarian past that still holds us back, and how to combat and liquidate all right and left deviations that arise out of this sectarianism.

The basic needs in solving this problem have been described for us by Lenin in dealing with another situation which is comparable to that in which we work. There is no solution to our problems through mechanical organizational means, there is no juggling of our forces back and forth, that is going to solve this basic political question for us. There is no all-powerful Communist God in the Political Bureau that will answer the fervent prayers of the comrades in the districts. There is no generous Providence that is going to hand us these things on a platter. We have to learn how to use that basic force that Lenin was dealing with when in 1905, in dealing with similar problems of the Russian Party, he said:

> "We must greatly broaden the cadres of the various Party organizations, and its close affiliations, in order to keep in step with the one hundred-fold increased torrent of revolutionary energy of the people."

The broadening of our cadres in order to connect with the hundred-fold energies of the masses, directing, channeling this energy, this is the only force that can solve a single one of our problems.

Directing the revolutionary energy of the masses, drawing all these energies into our channels, under our direction is possible only by a hundred-fold more sharp struggles against social fascism.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL FASCISM

We have been especially backward in this respect in our Party. We can say that it is only in the past period, since the Fourteenth Plenum, that we have even begun seriously to take up this question. How important this is we have new evidence to show us every day. We saw and registered effectively to a certain degree the bourgeois support to the Socialist Party during the election campaign. This was not an isolated phenomenon. This was a part of a whole system being worked out and applied by the American bourgeoisie facing the deepening crisis. Just a few weeks ago we saw another example of this in the report of the Hoover Committee on Social Trends which bemoaned the fact that the American Federation of Labor is going backward, becoming weaker and less influential, and declaring the necessity for capitalism of a strong, vigorous A. F. of L. We see in the unemployed movement a

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very sharp development of social fascist leadership seizing a hold of considerable sections of the unemployed and taking them away from us. The rise of social fascism among the unemployed is not a mere matter of the neglect of certain fields by us, thereby giving them the opportunity to come in because we are not there. One of the characteristic features of this rise of social fascist unemployed organizations is that they come in especially where we are strong, especially where we are active (and because we are active). For us this requires that we give even sharper critical self-examination to our methods of work, to our understanding of the political problems involved, and how the social fascists have been enabled to make progress in this field. Of course we must not underestimate the effectiveness of the support of the bourgeoisie to the social fascists. They come in as semi-governmental institutions, with tremendous power, control over the distribution of relief, etc. They are given the material basis upon which to conduct their work, as in Chicago, where the Borders outfit operates on the basis of the church system, and I understand they even have their unemployed meetings in the churches. This material and political support of the bourgeoisie and of its State apparatus would, of course, guarantee a certain degree of success in the first stages of such an effort for the social fascists. But after taking into consideration all of these factors outside of our control, we must say that the degree of success which the social fascists have been able to secure among the workers themselves is a demonstration of the weakness of our work and our methods among these unemployed. For us the decisive question becomes, then, so to improve our work among the unemployed as to win away the unemployed workers from these social fascist unemployed organizations. This is not only necessary, it is *possible* for us to do it.

THE NARROWING BASE OF SOCIAL FASCISM

While the basis of the social fascists is decreasing and also shifting, the intensity and danger of their role rise sharply, as both Comrade Minor and Comrade Gebert emphasized in their reports. The new left manoeuvres of Green and Norman Thomas, the latter's public dispute in the capitalist press against Hillquit. etc., is an elaborate stage play in order to create the impression among the masses of a leftward move in the leadership of the Socialist Party and A. F. of L. The recent split in the C. P. L. A., the Musteite organization, is a similar development. The activities of the renegades fits into that whole picture. So we say that not only have we the general strategic orientation that the main fire must be against social fascism and to win their followers to

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the Communist Party, but we see this general strategic orientation very sharply emphasized by every new development of the day. It becomes obvious that it is impossible for us to move one step forward except we win that step in struggle with the social fascists.

We have not made sufficiently clear either to ourselves or to workers what social fascism means in terms of their daily lives. We have made the workers understand that this links up the Socialist Party through high politics of various sorts with the camp of fascism. But we haven't made clear that social fascism expresses itself in the smallest every day questions as well as in questions of high politics.

The social democrats say that we Communists are responsible for the rise of fascism. Norman Thomas, writing in the Summer, 1932, issue of the *Socialist Quarterly*, brought forward this charge when he wrote:

> "Communism, I am sure, whatever its intentions, is now playing into the hands of fascism by continually discrediting democracy and by insisting on the inevitability of ruthless dictatorship and of great violence. Nothing could be better calculated to scare the timid into the arms of fascist saviors of 'order and security.'"

Now let us analyse this charge. In this we find not what Norman Thomas wanted to bring out, but the contrary. We find the political connection between social fascism and fascism in this very quotation. Remember, that fascism is the instrument of the bourgeoisie for smashing the revolutionary organizations of the working class, for combatting the revolutionary upsurge of the workers. Therefore, if there is no revolutionary organization, no revolutionary upsurge, fascism will not arise. Therefore, those who are responsible for developing the revolutionary upsurge of the workers, force the bourgeoisie to develop fascism. This is the argument of Norman Thomas and the whole Second International. The conclusion is, therefore, in order to prevent fascism from rising, they must prevent the development of revolutionary organizations and struggle; therefore, they must direct their fight against the Communist Party, which organizes and leads the revolutionary upsurge of the workers.

HOW TO FIGHT SOCIAL FASCISM

Every worker can understand this question if we take the question apart for them and analyse it and especially if we do this in terms of a specific problem. For example, on the Negro question, Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party apply this principle, saying that the Communists are responsible for the develop-

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ment of race riots by raising the issue of self-determination. Is there any Negro in America who cannot understand this position of the Socialist Party if we analyse it in the way that I have just analyzed this quotation from Norman Thomas; is there any worker who would fail to understand that this placing upon the workers of the responsibility of bourgeois oppression is merely a particularly poisonous and incidious form of putting across the program of our enemies, of the bourgeoisie, the white chauvinists, the fascists?

In our struggle against social fascism we have often been formal, mechanical, bureaucratic; we have lacked political content, we have attempted to settle with the social fascists by denunciation. But it is not possible to win the masses by denunciation. We will have to convince and prove satisfactorily to the minds of even the backward workers, not only that the social fascists are bad, but how, and why and the relation of their program to the issues of daily life and the relation of our program to the same question; explanation, patient, persistent explanation, carried on with a comradely approach and close contact with the followers of social fascists.

We have often had the contrary in the United States. In this respect I want to speak about one of the very bad developments that we had in the course of the election campaign. In our directives at the Fourteenth Plenum we raised the slogan, "Not a single political meeting without Communists present". A few of our very good comrades, very zealous, very energetic comrades, who are ready to lay down their lives for the Party, interpreted this to mean to go in and break up the meetings of our enemies and they proceeded to carry out their Communist duty as they understood it. (*Laughter*) The only trouble was that by this mistaken understanding of their Communist duty, they did our Party ten times more harm among the masses than all of the slandering that the social fascists were able to do. They didn't convince a single worker in this manner. They drove these workers away from us; they created an atmosphere not of sympathy but of antagonism between us and these workers. As a matter of criticism for the center, I want to say that we didn't sharply enough correct this. We should have corrected this publicly and openly, and in a sharp manner, instead of, as we did, trying to control and correct this mistake through inner Party channels. It should have been an open, public, political act of correction.

Comrades, we have many lessons to draw from our experiences in the mass struggle. Because we are preparing for a convention of the Party, the first convention for two and a half years, (it will be almost three years before it is held) we have to deal not

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only with the experiences of the past few months. Already we have summarised the most important of these lessons, in our various resolutions and editorials that have already been printed and distributed. We have drawn together the most important of these in the draft resolution now before the plenum.

I don't want to consume the amount of time that would be necessary for a recapitulation of all these lessons. It seems to me that we can draw a few general conclusions from the detailed lessons of our struggles in the strike movement and especially the biggest strike that we have organized and led, the Pennsylvania-Ohio strike on which we have had a very detailed and very important resolution last year, lessons of our unemployment struggles, the struggles for the united front, the Chicago actions, the questions involved in the organization of the National Hunger March, etc., the problems involved in our leadership and our mistakes in the Bonus March, the struggles that we have had with regard to the development of the farmers' movement, the experiences that we are accumulating, and the problems involved in our experiences, with the intellectuals and students, the problems of other middle-class elements such as bank depositors movement which we have seriously neglected, the movement of small home owners, etc.

THE CARRYING OUT OF THE FOURTEENTH PLENUM RESOLUTION

All of these experiences and lessons we have already discussed. The general line of our analysis was already clearly established and requires little debate, except for purposes of deepening our understanding of them. They serve to emphasize for us and to make it possible for us to really begin to understand the resolutions of the Fourteenth Plenum. It is necessary to say that we did not and we could not understand the full significance of the Fourteenth Plenum resolution merely by reading it. It is in the dialectical process of establishing the connection between this resolution and life that we begin to get an appreciation of the full depth and significance of the Fourteenth Plenum resolution.

Some comrades seem to think that the Fourteenth Plenum resolution is something which is used for state occasions, that is, when we have a plenum the Fourteenth Plenum resolution is placed on an altar and everyone comes before it and says, "I have sinned against you." This is a sort of mystical and religious concept of the Fourteenth Plenum resolution.

I do not think we need that kind of an understanding. I think we have to begin to understand that our plenum resolutions are not show-pieces for a large gathering, but instruments for the

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carrying on of the daily work, directives for the daily work. And when we come together again, with a period of experiences in their use, we come together for the purpose by collective consultation of increasing our mastery of this weapon of our resolutions, sharpening it up and preparing it for the new specific tasks.

We have in our experiences since the Fourteenth Plenum and before the Fourteenth Plenum, accumulated a lot of experience and lessons. Some of these are positive, many of them negative. We have had especially serious errors committed by the Center in the development of our work.

THE LESSONS FROM OUR WAR ERRORS

I want to deal now with the errors that we committed in the struggle against war. Especially those errors around last March and April growing out of our campaign against Japanese imperialist attacks in Manchuria and Shanghai.

The first error from which many others flowed was that the Party in its own name initiated the campaign against the Japanese imperialist assault on Shanghai with the slogans of "oust the Japanese imperialist representatives" and of "economic boycott". This was a very mechanical and very stupid handling of a question which required a flexible Bolshevik development in a situation which could by no means respond to a formula mechanically applied. We were unquestionably faced with a situation in which mass resentment against Japanese imperialism could most quickly be mobilized and brought into immediate action under such slogans because such slogans responded to the degree of political development of those masses at that time. We undoubtedly had the duty and the task of utilizing all opportunities to the utmost. It was undoubtedly correct that we should direct mass anger, mass demonstrations against Japanese imperialism which was the spearhead of the war developments direct against the Soviet Union and against the Chinese people. All arguments which were directed against these fundamental tasks did not help to correct the error which was made by the issuing of these slogans as Party slogans. Wrong criticisms that arose, prevented our Party for some period from correcting this original error and made it very difficult to correct because it perpetuated and deepened the confusion with regard to the whole question within our leadership. From this confusion developed a much more serious error in the expression given in the *Daily Worker* of April 12 of a conciliatory attitude towards the bourgeois propaganda which spoke of a possible alliance between the Soviet Union and the United States against Japan. This error has been criticized at the Fifteenth Plenum and has been criticized

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in print. It is the kind of error, however, that takes on a certain historical significance, which is not settled by being once examined and criticized, but which must become one of the features of the education of the Party on the whole question of the struggle against war, to vaccinate the Party against such errors in the future, to arm it against any possible repetition of such errors at another time.

Further it must be said that at the Fourteenth Plenum in my own speech which was directed against the wrong interpretations and criticisms of the main line that was being pursued at that moment of the development of the mass struggle against Japanese imperialism and thereby also struggle against our own imperialism, that I myself fell into a serious error. My error was not as some comrades have intimated that it was incorrect to quote Lenin on the question of Japanese-American relationships. It was correct to recall all of those things that Lenin said on this question. But while recalling these things, it was necessary to do more, which I did not do. It was necessary to examine the specific situation in which these statements were made by Lenin and show the difference between our situation and that situation in which they were issued. We have much to learn from these quotations and these quotations are a necessary part of the education of the American Party but they require especially that they shall be stated in the light of those differences in the tasks of a Communist Party which has already seized governmental power, on the one hand, and the tasks of a Communist Party which is not yet even facing the task of the immediate seizure of power on the other hand. It is not possible to draw a mechanical analogy between the tactics of the Party when it has power and the tactics of the Party still facing the struggle for power. Because I failed to draw this distinction I left the door open for a completely wrong understanding of the question. The nature of the error was the same as if one should propose that the Party itself should put forward the peace slogans which Litvinoff puts forward in the name of the Soviet government at Geneva. We have learned the distinction between the Soviet government and our Party in relation to the slogans of peace and disarmament. We understand quite well that the Soviet government in proposing disarmament at Geneva and in its whole peace program is making a correct Bolshevik use of all possible instruments for mobilizing mass forces against war, against the imperialist intervention in the Soviet Union. And at the same time we know that our work in supporting the peace policy of the Soviet Union can never take the form of ourselves putting forward a program in the name of our Party of disarmament and peace pacts. In all of such questions our first, main and principle attitude is to

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expose the false character of all of these supposed instrumentalities of peace, to expose the character of the pacifist philosophy that has developed around them as instruments of the bourgeoisie for masking the preparations for war. And in the same way we have to draw similar lessons in our concrete working out of the methods whereby we have to make use of the imperialist antagonisms in order to develop in our own particular field the broadest, deepest, possible mobilization of the masses against imperialist war.

The greatest error and the greatest weakness of our struggle against war was the slackening of our campaign against war. Our reaction to our errors and the confusion that arose around them was one of hesitation and fear to deal with such questions, the avoidance of mistakes by making the biggest mistake of all, of not doing anything. With regard to my own errors in this question I must admit an additional weakness in not yet having written the extended article on this whole question that was suggested in the letter of the Comintern. I hope that I will be able to do so soon and in the process of preparing this article which I have being going through for some weeks already, I hope to deepen my own understanding on this question. Perhaps if I succeed in that, my article will be of some help to the Party, carrying through the same process for the Party as a whole.

THE APPLICATION OF THE POLICY OF THE UNITED FRONT

In all of our mass struggles we are faced with the detailed application of the policy of the united front from below. In every concrete development of this policy we find the necessity for the struggle on two fronts, against the right capitulators to the reformist leaders and the "leftist" sectarian narrowing approach to the masses in the united front.

The struggle in Chicago around the action of October 31 gave us a classical example of these two dangers and gave us a good instrument for educating the whole Party on this question, by showing the Party how we fought against and defeated both dangers and thereby succeeded in carrying through, to our political gain, a large scale mass action. I do not want to review the details of the Chicago experience again. This has been done in *The Communist*, in the *Daily Worker*, in many articles and editorials.

But just a few comments upon our Chicago experience. In facing the problems in Chicago we delivered our heaviest blows against the manifest right danger there, recognizing that this is *the main danger* in all further development of mass work. At the same time we had to strike against the "left" phrase-mongering

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which showed a very sharp sectarianism. And we have to recognize that in most places in the United States, that the reason why we do not have the necessity of a sharp struggle against right opportunism is because our leftist sectarianism prevents us from getting enough contact with the masses to make a right mistake.

Our leftist sectarianism is, in most cases, the obstacle that prevents a single step forward today and which must be smashed through before we will even have the necessity of fighting against opportunist developments in the mass work. It is impossible to capitulate to the reformist leaders when we are so far away from the masses that we don't have any contact. At the same time, while we are satisfied that—that is, we are convinced (the word satisfied might be misunderstood)—we should say we are convinced that the comrades in Chicago followed the correct line in handling the struggle around October 31, yet we are not convinced that the chief obstacle, leftist sectarianism, has been liquidated in in Chicago. And we are a little bit disturbed in looking at Chicago, when we see that Chicago, after October 31, seemed to heave a sigh of relief and sit back in their chairs—a sort of, "Well, thank god, that's over." Since October 31 we have failed to see the concrete development of the united front struggle against Borders. We do not doubt that it has been going on; but it hasn't assumed forms sufficiently sharp and deep to arise as news that would reach us in the center. [Interjection by Gebert: We get some, but not sufficient.] Not sufficient. And I think there is a certain sectarian relief (*Laughter*) in Chicago that the terrible problems of this struggle with Borders in that united front conference aren't facing them now!

MISTAKES IN OUR TRADE UNION WORK

The distortions of our united front line, of course, are many and varied. One has to overcome difficulties of knowing which to choose as examples. There is an embarrassment of riches in this respect. I chose the example of Chicago because it gave us a good example of the correct main line and at the same time served to emphasize that the struggle against sectarianism isn't over and won't be for a long time, even where we broke through and where open resistance to the correction of our line has been largely overcome.

Now I must say a few words about the trade union work. I am going to speak about this very briefly because Comrade Stachel is going to make a complete report on this question, and we will have a special discussion on this. I only want to touch upon one very important general question which is directly related to some of

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the main political problems of the Party. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. had to declare for a very sharp correction of some distortions of the trade nion line which had taken place in many countries. Not merely one country, but many countries had distorted the line of the Fifth World Congress of the R.I.L.U. of independent leadership of struggle; distorted it in the sense of an actual desertion of the reformist unions and the setting up of the principle of independent leadership as something possible of achievement only through new red unions.

This distortion appeared also in the United States. We have been developing the struggle against it for the past year and a half, but more especially in the last six months we have been sharpening up the fight for the liquidation of this distortion. With the sharpening up of our struggle for the correction of our practices in this field, there has come a certain sharpening of resistance against this correction, and it looked for a while like we might have a very serious debate on this question with some comrades. Especially in this respect it is necessary for me to mention the name of Comrade **Zack.**

In resisting our corrections of these distortions, in resisting our insistence upon the serious development of work inside the A. F. of L. and other reformist unions, Comrade Zack raised the slogan that he is defending the line of the Fifth World Congress of the R.I.L.U. against those who want to revise the Fifth World Congress. This slogan of his would have greater weight, if it was not for the fact that he raises it after the Twelfth Plenum, so that today, to speak of defending the Fifth Congress in the sense of defending these distortions, is to put oneself into opposition not only to our Political Bureau, but to put oneself in opposition to the leadership of the Communist International.

There cannot be allowed to develop any idea that there are two kinds of trade union work, one the opposition in the reformist unions which differs in principle from the other, which is organization of the unorganized into the Red trade unions.

This is merely two phases of one task—the development of the revolutionary trade union movement. We organize the unorganized wherever we can find them and whenever we can make contacts with them but the question of whether we organize them in the Red trade unions or in the A. F. of L. or in a separate organization depends entirely upon the particular situation and upon the relation of forces. There is nothing in the directives of the Fifth World Congress of the R.I.L.U. or in any of the Congresses of the Communist International or in any of the plenums that gives the line that unorganized workers brought into trade

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unions must go into our *new* trade unions. In the Illinois coal fields it would be nothing but sheer stupidity at this moment to take workers directly into the National Miners Union. It would be the same in the Anthracite if we set up locals of the National Miners Union. If we are seriously going to develop revolutionary opposition within the mass trade unions, we must do it preparatory to taking unorganized miners into these unions and strengthening our opposition and we must object to any action that prevents us from carrying out this simple sane program. We must take into account the state of our development of left opposition inside the reformist unions in particular localities and vicinities.

THE NEGRO QUESTION A QUESTION OF AN OPPRESSED NATIONALITY

The work among the Negroes requires a few words. The resolution pointed out that in Negro work we have seriously passed over from mere agitation to the field of struggle and action, to a great degree the result of clarification of our program and understanding of the Negro question as a question of an oppressed nationality. At this moment it is necessary to emphasize that our chief weakness now is in our failure to follow up and to develop the trade unions, the Unemployed Councils as the chief channels for the development of work among the Negro masses. Some small successes of involving Negroes can be recorded in the unemployed movement but very little in the trade union field. Only certain incidents demonstrating the possibilities of work in this direction, have taken place but no systematic follow-up work. We have even seen the development of liquidatory tendencies in our Negro work set directly against the L.S.N.R. We have made big steps forward in the Bolshevizing of the entire Party including our Negro comrades. This has been reflected in the growing consciousness of our Negro cadres generally toward the acknowledgement of the necessity of setting up the L.S.N.R. organization. Formerly it was especially the leading Negro comrades that opposed this. Our experiences in the last two years have definitely proven to all of these comrades that the Party and other mass organizations are seriously taking up the Negro question and are pressing forward in the struggles for Negro rights and that the L.S.N.R. is not a substitute for the main political path of our work. And now that that question has been settled in their minds, they realize that the L.S.N.R. is a valuable and necessary instrument to extend over wider fields our struggle for Negro rights.

The L.S.N.R. is by no means a substitute for the Party, or trade unions, or Share-Croppers' Union, or Unemployed Councils, I.L.D. or other mass organizations, but I think it will be found that

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everywhere, including the South, there is a field for the development of the L.S.N.R. One great obstacle to this development is that we have never succeeded in convincing the leading cadres of the Party that we meant what we said when we outlined the organizational structure of the L.S.N.R. The L.S.N.R. was conceived of as a federation of existing organizations on the basis of economic needs—Share-Croppers' Union, Unemployed Councils, organizations of any and every kind which also were interested in the general program of the L.S.N.R., and incidentally where we are dealing with unorganized people, we can organize them into special branches of the L.S.N.R. Formerly only when we had a fixed number or percentage of white people in each local, were we not afraid of falling into the danger of Jim-Crowism. Only now that we are not afraid of the spread of any such deviation, do we finally work to organize branches which even contain only Negroes. We know that these things may be necessary and in fact will be necessary and where they are necessary, we will not be afraid to make organizations composed entirely of Negroes. In regard to the L.S.N.R. it will be effective organization only if it is a federation of organizations and not set itself the task of creating entirely new individual branches. These are all very good, especially in Chicago, where we have them. Wherever the workers are organized and the organizations are satisfying their needs, they will refuse to liquidate their organization. One of the main weaknesses of our work is the still seriously insufficient understanding of our leading cadres of just what the Negro question is and what the significance of our Negro program is. There is not adequate understanding of our slogan of self-determination among many of our District Committee members who have not read the basic resolution of the Communist International on this question seriously. I am quite sure that the pamphlet, *The Communist Position on the Negro Question,* which included these basic questions, has not been taken seriously as the basis of political education of every leader in our Party—it is taken as another agitational pamphlet. This is not the case. This pamphlet must be read by everyone, by every leader in our Party as it is impossible for anyone to face these problems without first having read and studied every phase presented in this pamphlet.

We must also emphasize still the insufficient attention given by the Party to the Bolshevist training of new Negro cadres, their training in action, their involvement in the leadership, and in political and organizational work of developing of our mass actions generally among whites and Negroes and among Negroes especially.

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The basic education of our new Negro cadres, which we require so pressingly, must come in the process of action and struggle, but must be supplemented by systematic schooling work also.

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

A word about the struggle against white chauvinism. We have made some of our most decisive advances in this struggle through the medium of mass trials which were made the occasion for dramatically developing a political examination of the Negro question. However we must say that there has been a certain tendency for a large mass production of white chauvinist trials in which quality has been sacrificed to quantity. We have begun to develop a certain "Model T" white chauvinist trial, the quality of which is very, very bad. The cylinders don't hit, you know, the fenders drop off, the workmanship on the thing is the most inexpert and sloppy work. This is, what we have in this mass production of white chauvinist trials—the most primitive stage of mass production, where the whole intent is to produce a large supply of what appears to be the right thing, and which won't stand examination—a complete sacrifice of quality to quantity. I think, in the struggle against white chauvinism here, if anywhere, we have got to insist absolutely on quality. Quantity is not so important right now. Quality!

Every time we put on a demonstrative action in the struggle against white chauvinism, it must be so well prepared politically that out of every such action we win 99.3 per cent of all workers who come in contact with it. We must really win the masses who come in contact with every action of ours against white chauvinism, and that has been seriously neglected. When we prepare these actions unpolitically, mechanically, we set up barriers against the development of a political understanding and thereby strengthen the influence of white chauvinist ideology.

Now I must say a few words about the question of the penetration of the shops. Fortunately, we are in a position at this plenum where we no longer have to take elaborate precautions to make sure in the *stenogram* to make a "good showing" about shop work—that we discussed it. Fortunately, even before the plenum, we not only began a little systematic discussion of our shop work—we even surprised ourselves to learn that we had even begun a little practical work inside the shops. This is a tremendous event. This is something that must be registered as of supreme importance for our Party. We began to do a little work inside the shops. Of course it is not very much.

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EVALUATING OUR SHOP WORK

In discussing this question not long ago I used a comparison as to how we should evaluate this work in the shop, by comparing it with Lenin's speech at the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern, when he pointed out that the Soviets had just achieved a tremendous historical victory. They had accumulated 20,000,000 roubles of new capital for the heavy metal industry. Twenty million roubles—that was in 1922. When you compare this 20,000,000 roubles of ten years ago with the billions that are being put in Soviet heavy industry today, it looks like a drop of water in an ocean. If you will compare the little shop work that we have got started with what is necessary before we are seriously organizing and directing millions of masses in the United States, then it is nothing at all. It is so small that it is just nothing compared with what we must do. But for us it has the same significance as that first 20,000,000 roubles had for Soviet heavy metal. It is our first little accumulation of capital. Of course, if we take this first little accumulation of capital and light-heartedly forget about it and do not develop it further with a constantly increasing tempo, it will not be worth anything, but if we take it as a beginning, as a proof of what can be done, which enables us to proceed forward further —it is this little beginning of shop work that will become history in our Party.

I have spoken about many of the detailed problems involved in shop work in the Chicago conference. My speech at that conference has been printed in today's *Daily Worker*.* It is probably unnecessary for me to take the time of this plenum to go over again these questions.

I think it should be possible for me to assume that all of you have read this, and consider this as part of my report. I want just to say one additional word about the relation of the small demands to the large demands. In Chicago I heard one little story that illustrates the importance of this question very dramatically. One of the comrades told me about a shop, I believe it was a foundry. They started an initiative group in the shop and began to raise issues for sanitary conditions, towels in the wash rooms. The demands increased the influence of the group and they became a real power in the shop. They decided to continue this fight for small demands very energetically. At this time along came a big wage cut, and our comrades decided that we were not strong enough to fight against a wage cut, and instead of putting up a fight against the wage cut, they put up a fight for toilet paper in the toilets. The

* See also *Party Organizer* for February, 1933.

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workers decided that the wage ct was more important and thought we were vulgarizing their demands, and our comrades lost influence in the shop, and the second fight for immediate demands, for sanitary conditions was lost because it was something which was not uppermost in the minds of the workers in the shop.

We have to develop in our every-day shop work large political questions which will make the workers understand not that something is being forced down their throats, but that each himself is interested in large political questions rising directly out of his shop conditions; and bind him closer to us, and this will solidify our forces in the shops. One further point on shop work that it is necessary to speak of, is the conception of keeping politics out of the shops, or the separation of economics from politics, an idea that was confusedly expressed in a formulation by Comrade Zack—that in penetrating the shops, the trade union comes first and only after the trade union has been established will the Party be brought forward. This is not only wrong organizationally, but is a complete political confusion, there is a tendency to separate economics from politics and a practical refusal of the necessary instrument for the penetration of the shop. The most important shops cannot be successfully penetrated with trade union organization inside if at the same time it is not penetrated with Party shop nuclei which are the force for building the trade-union work from the beginning.

BUILDING THE PARTY—OVERCOMING FLUCTUATION

A few words about building the Party in the lower organizations, and overcoming fluctuation. The comrades who visited the Communist International last, report to us that Comrade Piatnitsky asked the question, is there a law in America that prevents the Communist Party from increasing its membership above 10,000? And it seemed that there was such a law and we were suffering from legalism. But we must say that recently we have begun to break the bonds of this legalism. We began to break this law. We began to go above the 10,000 membership. This fact is not yet fully recognized by the Comintern. We have to convince them that it is true, they still list us as a Party of 10,000. We are today a Party of 19,000 members. This becomes significant also when we take the dynamics of the membership figures not month to month, which shows large fluctuation, but from year to year. When we examine our vital statistics in yearly periods we see in 1931 we averaged 8,500 members, approximately. In the year 1932 we averaged 15,000, an increase of about 80%, and in December and January of this year, we have averaged 18,457, just under 19,000. These figures are all based on weekly dues payments. What will the

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1933 average be? I hope no one will look upon these technocratic charts on the walls and consider that already these charts have solved the problem, that in 1933 it has to be so much higher. We have no guarantee that the line in 1933 will not drop very sharply. What is going to prevent it from dropping? There is only one thing that will prevent it, and that is the work of our Party in recruiting and holding new members.

Our work will decide, and one of the lessons of these charts that must be very seriously studied is the lesson that while we broke the law which prohibited us from going over 10,000, we are not yet breaking that law which says that we must lose a large percentage of all new members we bring into the Party. This law is still being carried out very regularly and loyally. We have not overcome fluctuation in membership. The only reason why the Party is growing is because the attraction power is so great that it can overcome the bad conditions of Party life which drives away new members. The solution of Party growth of which we see some beginnings was not achieved through improving the inner life, which cuts down fluctuation. The real problem of the growth of the Party is the problem of keeping all new members who come to us, and of transforming them into Bolsheviks and this is essentially a political problem. We can and we must give a lot of attention to organizational questions involved in Party life, and especially the lower units, the relation of lower units to the higher, and of the multitude of problems involved in this. The organizational questions play a big role.

ON THE ELECTION RESULTS

It is necessary to say a few words with regard to the elections. The election campaign gave us one of the principal tests of our Bolshevik qualities after the Fourteenth Plenum, and the general judgement on this election campaign cannot be very favorable. It must be said that, while we conducted a broader campaign than ever before in our history, that we improved the political contents of this campaign in almost every respect. Yet after the campaign is over we can say that while we had a bigger and better campaign than ever before it was only an improved version of the old election campaigns. We did not introduce the essential changes that were required in our methods of participation in the election campaign.

The only occasion upon which the election campaign mobilized masses was for meetings and marches to meetings. We did not succeed in connecting up the election campaign and the election issues, and our Party as the leader of the struggles, with the daily strug-

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gles of the masses, with the economic problems that were in the minds of the vast masses of the country. It must be said that in exploiting these daily issues before the masses, that even Roosevelt and the Democratic Party were much more expert than we were. That even in exploiting the issues of unemployment insurance that the Democratic Party captured the mass sentiment for unemployment insurance. And this criticism can be extended to almost every phase of the election campaign. It can't be said that we did not see this problem beforehand. You re-read the Fourteenth Plenum resolution and you find we had a correct approach to the election campaign in this resolution, but somehow in the process of transforming the resolution into action something got lost and precisely that something that was lost was the binding of the election campaign with the struggles of the unemployed, the strike struggles, and the struggle for Negro rights.

With regard to the results of the elections. We cannot in any way bring forward the question of the loss of votes through disfranchisement, corruption, vote stealing, etc., as an explanation for our weaknesses, our failing to make a stronger showing in the election campaign.

This is no explanation. At the same time it is necessary to say that in the last election campaign the direct stealing of votes that were cast for our Party was on an unprecedented scale, and we can by no means accept the official figures as the results of votes that were actually cast for our Party.

I discussed this question the other day with Comrade Foster who has had more leisure to collect all sorts of information about this question, than any of us who have been tied up with daily work, and who has been very seriously following up this question. And Comrade Foster expressed the conviction that our vote actually cast at the polls was certainly between four and five hundred thousand.

Although we have no way of ever establishing any finality of what was the actual volume of stealing of our votes, this is important, not to furnish us with any alibi for the weakness for our campaign, but important that we should not allow the Party to feel that the lessons of the election is the impossibility of extending the actual vote of the Party.

The official vote was slightly more than double that of 1928, but it was quite clear that it was multiplied about seven or eight times in reality. This does not take into account that votes were also stolen in 1928.

This factor is much more accentuated today than ever before.

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I express my agreement with the remarks made by Comrade Gebert on the election campaign.

We got a great lesson on the problem of leading the non-proletarian masses in the Bonus March. We are learning a great deal about this in the development of the great farmers' movement, in the development of the students' movement, the intellectual and middle class elements. This is still greatly underestimated, there is still a sectarian narrowness in our Party which tends to look at these non-proletarian strata and say, "What business have we got monkeying with such people? We are a workers' party." This tendency is a tendency which rejects the role of the proletariat at the leader of all the oppressed masses in the struggle against capitalism, and it must be very sternly faced and overcome.

THE STRUGGLE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

Another product of our participation in actual mass struggles has been that we have developed not only our theoretical understanding and deepened it, but we have begun to develop the struggle on the ideological front, on the theoretical front. Hitherto theory for us has been the abstraction from struggle, but didn't represent itself a field of struggle. And it is a sign of a certain growth and maturity of our Party that today we are moving into the ideological field as a field of struggle, as people who are taking over the hegemony of theoretical, ideological life.

This was made possible and at the same time was made necessary by the development of mass struggle. The first decisive steps in this respect are being taken now in our publications, especially in *The Communist* and the last issue of the *New Masses*. Read contribution to theoretical development, the application of Marxist-Leninist theory to America is contained in some very valuable articles by Comrade Jim Allen on American history, and our Marxist-Leninist interpretation of American history. These are polemical articles, articles of struggle against the conceptions of the renegades, specifically of the renegade theoretician, Will Herberg. Also the development of our polemics against the revisionism of Sidney Hook provide one of the features of the theoretical development of the Party and one of the instruments for the further deepening of the theoretical equipment of the Party.

A further phase of the development of the Bolshevization of our Party is the question of reaching the native-born American elements, that is, the Anglo-Saxon elements which constitute one of the largest groups of the American population. The only native section in which we can say we have made some decisive steps in

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reaching, is the American Negroes. Among the Negroes of the native American-born elements we are making progress. There has been a conception rather widely spread in our Party that this question of reaching the native Americans is to a great degree the problem of using a more popular language, that the obstacle between us and the native Americans is that we use a language which they do not understand.

I want to challenge this conception, at the same time that I stand for a more popular and more simplified language. I deny that this is the main obstacle between us and the native-born Americans. If we wanted proof that difficulty of language will not prevent the development of mass interest and attention, just look at Technocracy! If there has ever been any fad that had the most unintelligible language, that nobody can understand—and look at the millions of people that will swear by it today! [Bedacht: And don't know what it is.] So to get mass interest and attention, which is our first problem with the native Americans, we must recognize that merely changing our language will not solve our problem. And it is necessary to change our language, because as Comrade Bedacht said, our task is not only to get their attention, but their understanding and penetrate their minds and not to daze them. But if the question of language is not the decisive question, then what is the problem of finding that approch which will seize a hold of the minds of these masses and make them feel close and thereby draw them closer to us.

In think one of the main factors is the question of our ability or lack of ability to make use of American revolutionary traditions. In this respect, the articles of Comrade Jim Allen in *The Communist* are making big contributions along this line, making us more fit and capable of linking up our present work among the masses. Comrade Lenin many years ago gave us direct advice along this line in his famous letter to the American working class. Comrade Lenin pointed out the importance of making use of the revolutionary traditions. He said:

> "The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression of their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviki—are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the 18th and the civil war in the 19th century."

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Life and Work of Karl Marx

By MAX BEDACHT

MARCH 14, the revolutionary proletariat of the world commemorates the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. It was the life work of Karl Marx to uncover for the masses of exploited the conditions of their emancipation and to participate in their struggles. Marxism stood its historic test not only in the daily struggle of the working class during the last 50 years; it stood it especially in the great Russian revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin the masses of the exploited in Russia marched victoriously along the path of Marxism, through revolution to victory. Those scientific pygmies, those professional apologists for capitalism, those political traitors to the working class who have in the past and are still now trying to disprove or revise Marx, must either close their eyes to, or must vilify, this gigantic historic monument to the correctness of Marxism, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The revolutionary qualities of Marxian science are attested to not only by the fact this science has within itself all the elements for its own further development, but that its very essence is such further development. It is not a dogma. It is the social science not only of an epoch but of society. That is why the Leninist developments of Marxism are an integral part and a legitimate product of Marxian science itself, produced by the greatest Marxian since Marx and Engels.

Social democracy, in its efforts to prove that its treacheries are still "Socialist", maintains that in order to be Marxian one must drop Marxism now, in the epoch of 20th century capitalism. According to their theories Marxism itself presupposes the development of a new economic science under new conditions. Unashamed they tell the workers that "the picture Marx made two generations ago of the social and economic conditions of his time cannot be transferred to the social and economic conditions of our day". (Braunthal *Die Wirtschaft der Gegenwart und ihre Gesetze*). This contention is in itself a denial of Marxism because Marxian science is not merely the analysis of capitalism, but also the methods of his analysis, and the revolutionary conclusions from it. Marx' methods are still applicable; to be sure, today they must be applied to a capitalism much further developed. Marx' conclusions about

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the facts and methods of the class struggle are still correct; of course one must recognize shifts in the class relations since Marx' time; but Marxism not only recognized, but foresaw them.

Despite all desecrations of the very corpse of Karl Marx by social democracy it will, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of his death, drop a hypocritical flower on his grave. Disguised as mourners among the disciples of Marx, social democracy tries to escape recognition as the murderer of Marxism.

The present use of Marxian phraseology by the Second International in line with their use of "left" phrases to cover up their treacheries before the radicalizing masses only confirms their historical opposition to the revolutionary teachings of Marx.

Karl Heinrich Marx was born in Treves, Rhenish Prussia, on May 5, 1818. His father, Heinrich Marx, was a counselor-at-law. Heinrich Marx' conversion to the Protestant Church in 1824 was more a sign of his emancipation from religion than of a change of religion. At any rate Karl Marx was never burdened by his father with any religious ballast. He received an excellent education. At the age of 16 he was prepared to enter a university. At first he studied law at Bonn. It was his father's wish that he should follow his footsteps.

At 18 years of age he entered the Berlin University to continue his studies. Although again taking a course in law, he extended his educational excursions especially into the realms of philosophy. An insatiable search for fundamental knowledge urged him on in his studies.

Before he entered the Berlin University he became engaged to Jenny Von Westphalen. His bride was the daughter of a high Prussian official, Ludwig von Westphalen, and the sister of Ferdinand von Westphalen, who after the revolution of 1848 became one of the most reactionary ministers of one of reactionary Prussia's reactionary periods. Karl and Jenny did not get married until June, 1843.

In April, 1841 Marx was made a doctor of science by the University of Jena. Meantime he had become a member of a circle of intellectuals in Berlin, the "Doctoren Klub". There Marx was initiated into the mysteries of Hegelian dialectics. The dialectic methods of thinking introduced into German philosophy by Hegel were practiced in this club, and developed. Hegel himself had been, and his pupils in the doctor's club, were idealists. But it was evident that dialectic thinking, resuscitated by Hegel from ancient Greek philosophy, would soon find its material base and then inevitably become the method of revolutionary thinking.

During his service in the army in Berlin, 1841-42, Friedrich

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Engels, the life-long friend and co-worker of Marx, also became attached to that club. The friendship of Marx and Engels, however, dates from Paris, 1843-44.

Already before his father died, May, 1838, it had been agreed that Karl should follow his scientific desires and prepare for a professorship. The rapid development of Marx toward revolutionary conceptions on the one hand, and the hothouse reaction in the Prussia of those days, decisively closed the door for Marx to a professional carrer. In October, 1842 he became editor of *Die Rheinische Zeitung*, a bourgeois daily in Koeln. This paper had come under the influence of the Young Hegelians to whom Marx belonged. The five months Marx spent on that paper were decisive for the further development of Marx. His sense of realism taught him quickly that in judging the question confronting him there, the misery of the peasantry, the questions of free trade and protective tariff, etc., could not be solved by philosophical phrases. He was forced to study economic science. He also came into contact for the first time with "a weak philosophically-colored echo of French Socialism and Communism", which did not satisfy him.

Resigning from the paper started Marx on a physical and ideological journey which landed him in London and Communism. First he spent one year in Paris where he came in close contact with the leaders of French Socialism. There he had occasion to study it at first hand. There, too, he and Engels recognized their common scientific and political conceptions.

Expelled by the government from the territory of France, Marx moved to Brussels. During the Brussels exile the German revolution broke out. Both Marx and Engels, who had joined Marx in Brussels, rushed back to Germany. Both became intensely active in the revolution. Through the efforts of Marx the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was established in Koeln, with Marx as editor. This paper will forever stand as a classical example of a revolutionary paper. The German revolution of 1848 was a bourgeois revolution. Marx started from the base of this historic reality. He agitated, advised, directed where he could, always with a view of driving the revolution onward. He did not see his historic mission in unconditional support of this bourgeois revolution as the Mensheviks did in Russia in 1917, and as the social democrats did in Germany in 1918. His attitude towards the bourgeois revolution was stated clearly in his declaration that his ideal was not the black-red-gold republic, but that on the basis of this republic his opposition would really only begin. Social democracy today, father and defender of the present black-red-gold republic would send Karl Marx, were he living, the way it sent Karl Liebknecht and Rosa

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Luxemburg, whose crime was opposition to the black-red-gold November republic.

After the suppression of the revolution, Marx was expelled from Germany. He returned to Paris. But the bourgeois republic, the product of the 1848 revolution, was no more tolerant with him than had been the product of the 1832 revolution, the Orleanist monarchy, a few years before. Marx had to leave France and finally settled in London. His family had, in the meantime, grown by three, two daughters, Jenny and Laura, and a son, Edgar.

Into this period, from 1843 to 1849, from the editorship of Marx on *Die Rheinische Zeitung*, to the beginning of his London exile, falls the development of the fundamental conceptions and theories of scientific Socialism. Marx began with the criticism of his own conceptions and those of his friends, the Young Hegelians. Already on *Die Rheinische Zeitung*, he had recognized the hollowness of their phrases. He learned that social problems were not merely problems of philosophy but of politics. He entered a period of self-criticism and self-orientation; this meant for him a period of intense study, especially of economic science. He started where the Young Hegelians had left off. After David Strauss and Bruno Bauer in their analysis of the life of Christ and the origin of the Gospel, had established clearly that Christianity was not the producer but the product of its epoch, Marx investigated into the mechanics, into the material forces that produce such phenomena. It was in the course of these studies that he coined the epigram that "*religion is the opium of the people*".

Marx showed that the hopes of people for heaven are merely reflections of their misery on earth. Unacquainted with the social forces, the masses feel that they cannot physically escape their misery; so they try to escape into a "spiritual" happiness. The product of such flight is religion. Fight against social misery, said Marx; change this miserable world into a better one; remove the need of fleeing from a physical misery into a "spiritual", imaginary or hoped-for happiness—and religion will lose its base. While it lasts it is not only the reflection of misery, but also one of the causes of its continuance. Religion, the flight from miserable reality to happy imagination, helps to maintain the misery producing realities. Therefore religion serves the ruling classes. It is the opium with which the ruling classes dope the masses into voluntary submission to their exploitation.

Those that fence with religion without fighting the social conditions that produce it are either only pretending, or they are Don Quixotes, fighting windmills. An athiest of this kind may be a hopeless reactionary; but no real revolutionist can be a deist.

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In his consideration of the philosophy of Feuerbach, another of the Young Hegelians, Marx formulated the principle that was his guide through all his life, in the study room as well as in his revolutionary actions: "*The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but our job is to change it.*" Marx pointed out how weak the sprouting materialism of these Young Hegelians was. He showed that they created a dualism between thinking and the thinker, between thinking and the object of the thoughts. This results in a dualism between theory and practice. Thus they come to the conclusion that the material world influences thought. But they sidestep the revolutionary conclusion that thought, that thinking man, also influences the material world. Such vulgar, mechanical materialism cannot overcome inactivity toward miserable social conditions. It feeds it.

Dialectic materialism, on the other hand, sees man as the product as well as the creator of his surrounding. The dialectic materialist is the revolutionist; he is the man who tries to understand in order to change, and not merely in order to know. Marx said: "The materialist teaching that men are products of conditions and education, that different people, therefore, are products of different conditions and different education, forgets that conditions are changed by men, and that the educators, too, must be educated." This vulgar materialism divides society into two parts, one of which dominates the other; it is the materialism of capitalism. It explains why there are classes, but it does not prove the need, nor does it provide the methods, to abolish them.

The study of economics, as well as the close analysis of bourgeois Socialism in France ripened Marx' economic theories. These theories are the fruit of Marx' dialectic materialist methods of analysis. They are the result of an application of the rules of social life to the history and to an analysis of the facts of this social life itself. That, makes the conclusions unassailable. That, makes Marxian science as effective and as revolutionary-productive today as it was when first applied by Marx himself.

The first comprehensive presentation of his theories were given by Marx in a criticism of one of the leaders of French petty bourgeois Socialism, Pierre Proudhon. The book appeared in the summer of 1847, under the title, *The Misery of Philosophy*. It was written in the French language.

In this book Marxian dialectic materialism is counterposed to the idealistic materialism of Proudhon. There also the commonplaces of vulgar economy are dissolved into their essential nothingness by a scientific Socialist analysis. The utopian social medicines of the social misery, peoples' banks, currency based on production,

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etc., are brushed away as empty petty-bourgeois phrases; the class struggle is put in their place. The exploitation of the workers by the capitalist is proven; the social development of capitalism is outlined as one progressively increasing the misery of the masses; Marx shows that the conditions of the emancipation of the workers is the abolition of all classes and that for this abolition and until its completion, there will and must be a struggle of class against class, climaxing in a revolution.

Proudhon was against political action. In answer to this Marx, for the first time, developed his theory of the state. He pointed out that the struggle of the workers must be a political struggle because "*political power is the official expression of class antagonisms within bourgeois society*". The state power whether lodged in democracy or a monarchy, is the main tool of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the workers. The workers must wrest this tool from the bourgeoisie and use it for their purpose.

In the course of their struggle for existence the workers are continually hit with the weapon of the state power, wielded by the bourgeoisie; thus they gradually learn the need to conquer it. Their daily struggles for existence are, thereby, turned into political struggles, directed against the bourgeois state. In their highest stages these struggles become struggles for power; they turn into a revolution.

The workers' object of the revolution must be to take hold of the political power and to rebuild its apparatus, the government, so that they can use it as the capitalists did, *for their class purpose*. The capitalists used it to suppress the workers; the workers must use it to suppress the capitalists. The capitalists used it to maintain and defend against the workers their ownership and control of the means of production; the workers must use it to take away from the capitalists the ownership and control of the means of production.

In a letter to his friend Weydemeyer, Marx formulated the conclusions from his theories of the class struggle and the character of the state as follows: "First, the existence of the classes is dependent on definite historic struggles of development of production, second, *the class struggle must necessarily lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat*, third, this dictatorship itself is the bridge to the abolition of all classes and to the establishment of a classless society."

Marx ends this polemic, which is at the same time the first extensive positive presentation of Marxism, with a sentence which social democracy will not quote in its anniversary orations: "Until then (until the abolition of classes), on the eve of every rebuilding of society, the last word of science will be: 'Struggle or death,

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bloody war or nothingness, the problem is inexorably formulated thus.'"

In 1847, the most important and best-known document of Marxism was published—*The Communist Manifesto*. It was written in behalf and as the program of the Federation of Communists in London. It was drawn up jointly by Marx and Engels. It is a masterpiece of a revolutionary document, educational in its theoretical base, arousing, directing and leading in its practical revolutionary conclusions. This document tells the workers that men make their own history; but they do not make it just as they please. They have to work upon the circumstances they find, and they have to fashion material handed down to them. Here, workers, are the circumstances, here is the material you have to deal with; now go and make your own history, fashion your own world. In undertaking this task you have nothing to lose but your chains, but you have a world to gain.

The ringing signals of *The Communist Manifesto* to fight, have ever been a spur to the working class in their struggles, as the theories of the document have been their guides.

In 1859 Marx' *Critique of Political Economy* was published. It was a forerunner of his main work, *Capital*. In this book capitalist economy was subjected to a searching criticism. Marx shows that the accumulation of capital and wealth, which capitalist apologists ascribe to the thrift and intelligence of the individual capitalists, is in reality the product of exploiting the workers. It is accumulated out of unpaid labor. The worker sells his labor power; his wages are the price for it. This price, in the main, is determined by the cost of production of labor power. The cost of production is the cost of the maintenance and reproduction of the carrier of that labor power, of the worker. This cost expressed in hours of labor, is considerably lower than the hours of labor the capitalist gets out of the worker after he buys his labor power. The difference is unpaid labor, is surplus value. This unpaid labor reappears as profit in the pocket of the capitalist.

Starting from this proof of workers' exploitation by the capitalists, *Capital* then proceeds to analyze all of the mechanics of capitalism. It shows how profits is the dominating principle of capitalism; that honor, ethics, laws, etc., are subordinated to profit. But it also proves that this system has within itself the source of its revolutionary destruction. Objectively these forces spring from the progressive inability of capitalism to serve social purposes.

The products of unpaid labor accumulate into ever increasing new capital, into new machinery of exploitation; it also accumulates as surplus product in a planless production. This surplus, produced

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by the worker in an effort to *make it a living*, comes back at him in the form of over-production and *deprives him of his living*. This contradiction between the living interests of the masses and the profit interests of capitalists leads to ever sharper struggles, class struggles. The workers learn that their social problems are political problems. They learn that to solve these problems they need political power. They fight for this political power to the point of a revolutionary victory. Then the workers will organize their state and will use their power to liquidate all classes by reorganizing production from the base of private profit to that of social usefulness.

The first volume of *Capital* was published in 1867. It remained the only volume published during the lifetime of Marx. Volumes II and III were published by Engels after the death of Marx. The fourth volume was printed under the title *Theories About Surplus Value*. This fourth volume of *Capital* comprises in itself four volumes.

September 28, 1864, Marx participated in the meeting in St. Martin's Hall in London which gave birth to the International Workmen's Association, the First International. Marx soon became its leader and moving spirit. He remained in this position until the development of the international labor movement itself had antiquated this first international organization of the working class, and it stepped off the stage of history in 1873.

Since then this First International has found a legitimate heir, the executor of its will, the leader in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalism, the Communist International.

The heroic struggle of the Paris proletariat in 1871, the Paris Commune, found in Marx its indefatigable advisor and defender. In his criticism of the Commune, Marx gave the most positive formulations of the needs of the proletarian struggle. In his letter to Kugelman of April 12, 1871 Marx pointed out that the possible defeat of the Commune would spring out of two mistakes: first the Commune did not energetically enough and in time start open civil war, second, the revolutionary Central Committee was troubled too mucb with a democratic conscience and abdicated to an elected Commune before it had accomplished its revolutionary task. (The revolutionary Soviets in Russia did not make the mistake. Instead of abdicating to the constituent assembly, they made that assembly abdicate to the Soviets.

Marx' characterization of the Paris Commune in this letter to Kugelman is an historically anticipating condemnation of German

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Social Democracy of today. Said Marx: "The present insurrection in Paris—even though it may succumb to the wolves, the swine, and the contemptible hounds of existing society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection. Compare with these stormers of heaven in Paris the slaves of heaven of the Prussian-German holy Roman empire with its posthumus masquarades, smelling after barracks, churches, petty feudals and, especially, philistines."

Those cowardly traitors of the working class who always defend their unwillingness to lead the workers into struggle because of the danger of defeat, were told by Marx in his defense of the struggles of the Paris Commune: "Of course, it would be a very comfortable thing if a battle needed only to be accepted with a guarantee of victory in ones pocket." Marx pointed out that the defeat of the Paris workers in their struggle was less of a calamity than would have been the demoralization of the proletariat in case it had not accepted battle. How correct this is, is shown by the inspiration the militant working class of the world derives to this day out of the heroic, though defeated struggles of the Paris proletariat in 1871.

The judgement of Marx on the Paris Commune has the most immediate bearing on the proletarian struggles of today. When the revolutionary proletariat prepared in Germany in 1918 to conquer the citadel of bourgeois power, the state, Kautsky falsified Marx' theory of the State and suppressed his criticisms of the Commune. Kautsky made the failure of the Commune to organize civil war, and the haste with which the revolutionary Central Committee abdicated to the elected Commune, the virtues of the revolutionary rising of the Paris workers. Marx had declared them to be their most serious mistakes which led to defeat. Kautsky desired the defeat of the working class. This desire was the source of his falsifications. This desire is also the source of falsification of Marx by the comrades of Kautsky, Social Democracy.

Lenin considered this the most decisive point of Marxism. In *State and Revolution* Lenin pilloried the renegade Kautsky and restored revolutionary Marxism. The importance of Marx' criticism of the Commune in this connection was attested to by Lenin in his advise that Marx' letter to Kugelmann should be put up in every workers home to have it constantly before his eyes. Its conclusion to the workers is: Conquer the State! Conquer it in war against the bourgeoisie! Establish your political dictatorship.

The limits of this article do not permit the giving of a full and comprehensive outline of the theories of Marxism. It shall be the

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duties of a truly Marxian commemoration of the anniversary of Marx' death to publish and popularize Marxian literature for mass study.

The letters we have of Marx contain a deep insight into the active political life he led. They are a testimony to the self-sacrificing revolutionary services he rendered to the working class under the most difficult conditions. Suffering and sick, his family short of the most necessary things, he nevertheless kept to his chosen task. They give a picture, too, of the heroic, loving and devoted comradeship with Marx of his wife Jenny. Sickness was a frequent guest of the family, death of children and no money even to have them buried depressed them; but always and everywhere Karl and Jenny were with mind and body in the struggles for the emancipation of the downtrodden. Only the unselfish, always ready friendship of Friedrich Engels made the life of Marx possible. It is next to impossible to view the life and work of Karl Marx without at the same time considering the life and work of Friedrich Engels. However, the limits and purposes of this article demand the impossible.

Beginning with 1852 and for some ten years Marx was European correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. His pay, a beggarly few few dollars per article, represented an important part of Marx' income during this period. This correspondence (some of it written by Engels) contains brilliant analyses and commentaries on the political events of those days.

Continuous intensive work nder the greatest difficulties undermined Marx' health. For years he was subject to acute suffering from liver trouble. Later an acute bronchial ailment added to his sufferings. At the age of 65, on March 14, 1883, one year after the death of his wife, and two months after the death of his most beloved daughter Jenny, he fell asleep in his easy chair, never to wage again.

Words spoken at his grave by Marx' lifelong friend, Engels, we quote here as the best appreciation of the life and work of Marx: Engels said:

> "An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death om this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself left . . .
>
> "For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it has

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brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival . . .

". . . he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America . . .

"His name and his work will endure through the ages!"

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolution. To be more precise: Leninism is the theory and the tactic of the tproletarian revolution in general, and the theory and the tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

* * * * *

Revolutionary theory is a synthesis of the experience of the working-class movement throughout all lands—the generalized experience. Of course theory out of touch with revolutionary practice is like a mill that runs without any grist, just as practice gropes in the dark unless revolutionary theory throws a light on the paht. But theory becomes the greatest force in the working-class movement when it is inseparably linked with revolutionary practice: for it, and it along, can give the movement confidence, guidance, and understanding of the inner links between events; it along can enable those engaged in the practical struggle to understand the whence and the whither of the working-class movement.—*Stalin.*

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Marx on the American Civil War

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARX AND ENGELS

EDITORIAL NOTE: *Both Marx and Engels followed events in the United States very closely. Especially during the first two years of the American Civil War there was hardly a letter between the two in which American developments were not discussed. From these letters, as well as from a series of articles on the Civil War written by Marx and Engels for the Vienna* FREIE PRESSE *(some of which were reprinted with an introduction by A. Landy in* THE COMMUNIST, *Vol. VI* (1927) *Nos.* 2, 3 *and* 4) *and frequent references in* Capital, *it is apparent that they had made a detailed study of the historical background of the struggle in order to arrive at a correct estimate of the inevitable outcome of the conflict and the importance of the victory of the North to the further development of American capitalism and, with it, of the American labor movement.*

In his discussion of the working day and the eight-hour day movement in the first volume of Capital, *Marx sums up the meaning of the Civil War to the working class in the following words:*

> *"In the United States of America, any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new and vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an agitation for the 8-hour day—a movement which ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."*

At the beginning of the Civil War Engels did not share Marx' views. In face of the hesitancy and blunders of the North and its first military defeats, Engels felt doubtful about the outcome of the conflict and berated the young bourgeois democracy severely. The letter of November 5, 1862, *gives Engels' position. While being no less critical of the North, Marx, however, felt certain of its victory and consequent events proved him to be correct. Marx chided his friend Engles of being too much preoccpied with "the military aspect of things." (Engels at that time was engaged in making a thorough study of military science and his articles in the* FREIE PRESSE *as well as many of his letters to Marx on the Civil War concern themselves almost exclusively with the military aspects of the American struggle. Engels' military analysis of the Civil War*

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still remains a classic of military strategy and military science. With the further development of the war, however, Engels modified his views and finally fully agreed with Marx.

Continual and lengthy references to the American struggle are found in the Marx-Engels letters up to the concluding year of the war. Thereafter only passing comments appear, one of the most important of which—Engels' remark on the policy of the Johnson regime—is reprinted here. The rapid development of events in Europe, which was to culminate in the Paris Commune, and the organization and leadership of the First International, as well as work on Capital *were taking all of Marx' and Engles' energies. Attention should be called, however, to the Address of the First International to Lincoln, written by Marx on the occasion of his re-election in* 1864, *and the Address of the First International to the American workers in* 1869, *when war threatened between England and the United States, for their penetrating analysis of the American situation.*

The extracts of letters reprinted here are selected from the voluminous Marx-Engels correspondence on the Civil War, which have been translated from the complete collection of their letters in Volume 3 (*four books*) *of their collected works being issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. They give the reader some idea of the special attention paid to this struggle by Marx and Engels and are invaluable in forming a Marxist interpretation of this important stage in the development of American capitalism and the modern labor movement.*

The passing remarks of Marx in his letters are of such profound significance and show such deep insight and understanding of the forces shaping the Civil War that they should be taken as the text for re-writing the history of the Civil War from a Marxian standpoint.

MARX TO ENGELS JULY 1, 1861

ON closer study of this American affair I found that the conflict between South and North—after the latter had for fifty years degraded itself from one concession to another—at last (except for the shameless new demands of "chivalry") came to a showdown by the weight which the extraordinary development of the Northwestern States threw into the balance. This population, richly mixed with new German and English elements, and mainly self-working farmers, was naturally not as willing to be intimidated as the gentlemen of Wall Street and the Quakers of Boston. According to the last Census (1860) it has grown from 1850 to 1860 by 67 percent and was in 1860 7,870,869, while the whole

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free population of the seceded slave States, according to the same census, was about 5 millions. These Northwestern States in 1860 furnished the bulk of the government party as well as the President. And it was just this part of the North which first decided against any recognition of a Southern Confederacy. Naturally they cannot leave the lower part and the mouth of the Mississippi to foreign States. And it was also this Northwestern population which in the Kansas affair (which really marks the beginning of the present war) got into skirmishes with the Border Ruffians.

A closer view of the history of the secessionist movement shows that secession, constitution (Montgomery), Congress were usurpations. Nowhere did they allow the people en masse to vote. On this "usurpation"—which means not only secession from the North, but strengthening and sharpening of the oligarchy of the 300,000 slave-lords over the 5 million whites in the South—very characteristic articles appeared at a time in the Southern papers.

MARX TO ENGELS AUGUST 7, 1862

I do not entirely agree with your views on the American Civil War. I don't think, it's all over. From the beginning the Northerners were dominated by the representatives of the border slave States who also promoted McClellan, that old Breckinridge partisan, to the top. The South, however, from the very beginning acted as a whole. The North itself, made slavery a military force of the South, instead of turning it against it. The South leaves productive labor to the slaves, and thus could undisturbedly lead its whole fighting force to the battle field. It had a unified military leadership; the North did not. That there was no strategic plan could already clearly be seen from the maneuvers of the Kentucky army after the conquest of Tennessee. In my opinion all this will take another turn. The North will at last conduct war seriously and use revolutionary means, and throw aside the dominance of the people of the border slave States. One single Negro regiment will have peculiar results on Southern nerves.

The difficulty of getting 300,000 men seems to me to be a purely political one. The Northwest and New England will force the government to give up the diplomatic manner in which it carried on the war so far, and they now are making terms on which the 300,000 men shall come forth. If Lincoln does not give in (but he will), there will be revolution.

Concerning the dearth of military talents, the selection of generals which prevailed until now, and was made purely according to diplomatic and party chicaneries, was not one which would bring

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such talents into the foreground. General Pope, however, seems to me to be a man of energy.

The financial measures are very clumsy, as they must be in a country where in fact (for the whole country) no taxes existed until now, but by far not as stupid as the measures of Pitt and Co. The present depreciation of the money must be, it seems to me attributed not to economic but to purely political causes, distrust. It will therefore change with different politics.

The long and short of the whole story seems to me that such wars must be conducted with revolutionary methods and that the Yankees tried to conduct it with constitutional methods.

MARX TO ENGELS SEPTEMBER 10, 1862

Concerning the Yankees, I am absolutely still of the opinion that the North will finally be victorious. However, the civil war might go through various episodes, possibly armistices and become prolonged. The South would or could only make peace on condition that it gets the slave States of the border territory. In this case it would also get California; the Northwest would follow, and the Federation, except the New England States maybe, would again form a country, this time under the acknowledged supremacy of the slave-holders. It would be the reconstruction of the United States on the basis demanded by the South. But this is impossible and will not happen.

The North again, can only make peace if the Confederacy is confined to the old slave States and those enclosed by the Mississippi and the Atlantic. In this case, the Confederation would soon reach a peaceable end. Armistices, etc., in between, on the basis of a status quo, could at the most bring about pauses in the conduct of war.

The manner in which the North conducts the war is to be expected of a bourgeois republic where deceit has ruled supreme for such a long time. The South, an oligarchy, is much better fit for it, especially an oligarchy where the whole productive labor is done by the Negroes and the four million "white trash" are professional freebooters. It also is possible, however, that some sort of revolution will happen in the North itself before that.

Willich is Brigadier General and, as Kapp told in Cologne, Stevens is also supposed to join the war now.

It seems to me that you let yourself be guided a little too much by the military aspect of things.

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MARX TO ENGELS OCTOBER 27, 1862

Concerning America, I believe that the Maryland campaign was decisive in so far as it shows that even in this part of the border States with the most Southern sentiment, the following of the Confederates is weak. The whole struggle, however, turns around the border States. Whoever has them, has the domination over the Union. That Lincoln decreed the Emancipation Act at the moment when the Confederates advanced into Kentucky, shows at the same time that all consideration for the loyal slave-holders in the border States has come to an end. The emigration of the slave holders of Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee with their property of Negroes to the South is already enormous, and if the struggle is prolonged a little, which is sure, the South will have lost all hold there. It started the struggle for territories. The war itself was the means to destroy its power in the territories. The who anyway, *daily loosened their connection with the South* since the raising of slaves and the home slave trade could no more find a market. In my opinion, for the South it will therefore be just a questio nof defense. *But* its only possibility of success was in the offensive. If the news is confirmed that Hooker gets the active command of the Potomac army and McClellan is "withdrawn" to the theoretical post of commander in chief and Halleck takes over the supreme command in the West, then the conduct of war in Virginia might become of a more energetic character. Furthermore the most advantageous season for the Confederates is over.

Morally, the collapse of the Maryland campaign was absolutely of most tremendous importance.

Concerning finances, the United States know from the time of the Independence War and we know from Austrian experiences how far one can go with depreciated paper money. As a matter of fact the Yankees have never exported more grain to England than this year, the present harvest is again far above average, and the trade balance has not been as favorable for them for two years. As soon as the new tax system (which is, however, quite insipid and of the real Pitt kind) is in force, a reflow of the paper money will begin which until now has been continuously only *issued*. An emission of paper money to the present degree, becomes thus superfluous; a further depreciation will so be checked. What makes even the depreciation up to now less dangerous than it was under similar circumstances in France and even England, is the fact that the Yankees never prohibited *two prices*, gold price and paper price. The real calamity of the affair is that it amounts

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to a government debt for which the real equivalent was never given, and to a premium for jobbing and speculation.

If the English brag that their depreciation was never higher than 11½ percent (according to others it was twice as much during some time), they just forget that they did not only continue to pay the old taxes, but paid new ones in addition while the Yankees *have* in fact for two and a half years, conducted war without taxes (except the import duties that have diminished considerably), with mere repeated emission of paper money. In such a process which is now reaching its high point, the depreciation is in fact still quite small.

The Southerners' rage over Lincoln's Acts proves their importance. All of Lincoln's Acts have the appearance of narrow-mindedly claused conditions which a lawyer sends to his opponent. But this does not diminish its historic character and it is really amusing to me when I compare it with the drapery which the Frenchman wraps up the most unimportant matter.

Of course, just like others I notice the repulsive form of the Yankees' movement, but find that this is explained by the nature of a "bourgeois" democracy. Nevertheless, the events there are world-shaking and in the whole history there is nothing more disgusting than the English attitude towards it.

ENGELS TO MARX NOVEMBER 5, 1862

Concerning America, to be sure, I too believe that the Confederates received an unexpected moral blow in Maryland. I am also convinced that *definite* possession of the border States decides the outcome of the war. But I am not at all sure that history will take its course in such a classical form as you seem to believe. In spite of all the Yankees' noise, there is no sympton yet that the people consider the matter as a real question of national existence. On the contrary, these election victories of the Democrats rather prove that the war-tired party is growing. If there were only proof, an indication that the masses in the North are beginning to step forward as they did in France in 1792 and 1793, it all would be very beautiful. But the only revolution to be expected rather seems to be a democratic counter-revolution and a rotten peace which will also divide up the border States. Granted that this does not settle the matter by far. But it will for the time being. I must say, I cannot get enthusiastic about a people that in such a colossal question allows itself to be continuously browbeaten by a quarter of its own population and which after eighteen months of war has accomplished nothing else but the

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discovery that all its generals are asses and its civil officials rogues and traitors. The affair must really take a different turn, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to be completely bawled up. What you say about the meanness of the English manner of looking at the affair, is completely my opinion.

MARX TO ENGELS SEPTEMBER 7, 1864

Concerning America, I consider, among ourselves, the present moment a very critical one. If Grant suffers a big defeat or Sherman wins a big victory, then all right. Dangerous is the chronic number of small setbacks, especially now during election time. I am completely of your opinion that until now Lincoln's re-election is quite sure, *still* 100 *to* 1. But this election time in the classical country of the swindle of democracy, is full of chances which can very unexpectedly slap the reason of events (an expression which Magnus Urquhartus considers just as crazy as the "justice of a locomotive") into the face. Armistice seems to be very necessary for the South in order to save it from complete exhaustion. It first started this cry *not only* in its Northern organs, but directly in its Richmond organs, although the *Richmond Examiner* now, when it has found an echo in New York, throws it sneeringly back at the Yankees. That Mr. Davis decided to treat the Negro soldiers as "prisoners of war"—the last official order of his Minister of War—is very characteristic.

Lincoln has big means in his hand to force through the election. (Peace proposals on his part, are of course, mere humbug). The election of an opposing candidate probably would lead to a real *revolution.* Withal, one cannot deny that during the next eight weeks, in which the matter will for the time being be decided, much depends on military chances. Since the beginning of the war, this is undoubtedly the most critical point. Once this is shifted, old Lincoln can blunder on after his heart's desire. By the way, the old man is impossible at "making" generals. Ministers he can already select much more capably. *But* Confederate papers attack their ministers just like the Yankees attack the Washingtonians. If Lincoln pulls through this time—which is very probable—it will be on the basis of a much more radical platform and under completely changed circumstances. The old man will then, in accordance with his juridical manner, find more radical means reconcilable with his conscience.

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The Emergence of an American Revolutionary Proletariat

TOWARD THE STUDY OF THE APPLICATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM TO THE AMERICAN CLASS STRUGGLE

By SAM DON

I.

OUR struggle against sectarianism demands the destruction of those fetters which prevent the release of the growing revolutionary forces and energies that are rapidly maturing in the present period. To carry through correctly and successfully the struggle of the Party against sectarianism for the purpose of being one with the masses and guiding them to struggles, it is necessary to understand the roots of sectarianism as well as those objective conditions, not only throughout the world, but specifically existing in the United States, which are having a revolutionizing effect upon the toilers in this country.

Sectarianism has its roots simultaneously in the historical backwardness of the American working class, and the isolation from the working class of the various revolutionary movements which developed in the country. Already the Third Congress of the Communist International, (held in 1921) pointed to the fact that "In the United States of North America . . . on account of historical circumstances, there was a total lack of a broad revolutionary movement even before the war . . ." To develop this broad revolutionary movement at the present time, it is necessary to understand both the historical circumstances for the lack of it in the past, and the forces which are creating the basis for the rapid development of a broad revolutionary movement at the present time.

Merely to speak of the new situation and to leave out of account the historical circumstances of the past, would lead to an abandonment of our struggle against sectarianism, which is the pre-condition for relieving ourselves of the past influences which weigh heavily upon us in our present struggles to overcome our isolation from the masses. Nor can we fight sectarianism, by merely confining ourselves to a consideration of the past forces which have limited the growth of a revolutionary move-

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ment in the United States, since this would obscure the perspective for growing revolutionary struggles in the country and lead to a retreat and capitulation before difficulties. It is necessary to be conscious both of the historical roots of specific features that account for the limitations in the past development of the American labor movement, and of the new forces generating the revolutionary upsurge in this country.

The correct approach to the problem of overcoming sectarianism makes it necessary for us to take into account these two dialectically interconnected forces—the retarding forces of the past, and the revolutionizing forces of the present. Failure to take both into account must lead inevitably to sectarianism which, in the United States, is the source of both right and left deviations.

The writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in their general teachings, as well as in their specific references to the United States, must become the medium for a *complete rewriting* of American history and the source for an understanding of our present-day problems in developing correct mass policies.

Marx, Engels and Lenin have on more than one occasion established what were the specific historical circumstances which have made the American working class act less independently as a class in the past than the European working class.

Speaking of the *early* period of American capitalism, Marx said:

> "The law of supply and demand favors the workingman, hence the relatively high standards of wages in the United States. Capital may there try its utmost. It cannot prevent the labor market from being continuously emptied by the continuous conversion of wage laborers into independent self-sustaining peasants. The position of wage laborer is for a large part of the American people but a probationary state, which they are sure to leave within a longer or shorter term."

What made possible in the United States the "continuous conversion of wage laborers into independent self-sustaining peasants"? The major historical fact which made this possible was the relative absence of a feudal past in comparison with Europe, a fact which was pointed out continuously by Marx, Engels and Lenin in their study of the specific conditions of American capitalism and the labor movement.

One of the main reasons for the mass support to the first American revolution, which made its victory possible, was the struggle to open the land in the West, and to destroy the remnants of landed feudal relationships as they existed at the time in some parts of the country. The "probationary state" referred to by Marx, relating to the early period in the development of American capitalism.

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created a fluidity of class relationships. This fluidity of class relationships, in spite of many brilliant struggles and the development of independent class actions and class ideology, delayed and made difficult the emergence of a homogeneous independent working class ideology in contrast to the conditions prevailing in Europe at that time.

In the early stages of the development of American capitalism therefore the sting in the class relationships in the United States was less painful than in Europe because of the relative absence of the rounded out feudal system which existed in Europe. The masses felt more free in their movements because of this. The possibility of leaving one's class was greater.

In a letter written to Sorge on September 16, 1886, Engels referred to the United States: "In a country as elemental as America, which has developed in a *purely bourgeois fashion*, without any feudal past . . ." In another letter dated February 8, 1890, Engels again re-emphasized this thought when he said: ". . . America is so purely bourgeois . . . [it] . . . has absolutely no feudal past." And further, we find in Engels the passage: ". . . on the more favored soil of America, where no medieval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of modern bourgeois society as evolved in the seventeenth century . . ."

These letters of Engels teach us that capitalism in the United States, not hemmed in by feudalism or its remnants, which were swept away by the fire and sword of the American Revolution for Independence and of the Civil War, had a comparatively free and unhindered early growth and development.

We cannot assume, however, that because of the fact that capitalism in the United States did not develop on the background of a completed feudal system such as existed in Europe, but in a "purely bourgeois fashion," that this would lead to a development of capitalism without the inherent contradictions of capitalism. On the contrary, *the very historical fact of the absence of a feudal past, which caused a certain fluidity in the class relationships, is the fact which also led to the most rapid development of capitalism in the United States to a clear-cut division of classes and to an extreme sharpening of class relationships, as we witness in the United States at the present time.*

Already, Marx, in a letter to N. in 1879, wrote of the "unheard-of rapidity of industrial development, the agricultural progress" in America and further declared that "at present the United States has surpassed England by far in the *rapidity* of its economic progress."

The presence of free land opened up by the struggles of the

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masses in the Revolution for Independence and the Civil War was the very base for creating a tremendous market for capitalism at home. It also made possible the exports of raw materials to Europe which helped the importation of capital for the building up of industries in the United States. Lenin in his work on "Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States," said:

> "The peculiarity of the United States already more than once noted by us of the presence of unoccupied free land, this peculiarity explains the extraordinary extent and rapid development of capitalism in America. The absence of private ownership of land in certain sections of this vast country did not eliminate capitalism but on the contrary had broadened the base for it, hastening its development."

The rapid growth of the population in the United States through the continuous flow of the "surplus" population from Europe, coupled with the scarcity of labor at home, both expanded the base of the home market and increased the relative standards of living of the masses. Marx, referring to this development, said:

> "The absolute population here increases much more quickly than in the mother country, because many laborers enter this world as ready-made adults and yet the labor market is always understocked."

All of the above factors, including the direct aid of the experiences gained from the development of European capitalism, broadened out the base for the development of capitalism in the United States. The *"purely bourgeois" fashion* of the development of capitalism in the United States has therefore led to the unprecedented development in a *classical fashion* of all the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the United States. This was already foreseen by Marx 75 years ago, when he stated:

> "Consequently, when the inevitable transition to the factory system takes place in that country [the United States], the ensuing concentration will, compared with Europe and even with England, advance in seven-league boots."

The concentration of production, with the rapid rise of the large-scale industry and the drawing in of the farmers into the capitalist form of production and exchange, produced all the *classical contradictions* of capitalism, based upon the growing exploitation of the masses and the re-occurring crises of capitalism. The conseqences of the rapid development in the concentration of capitalist production in the United States upon the living standards of the masses and the growing rigidity in the class relationships were early noted by Engels when he took to task ". . . those nice Americans who think their country exempt [Lovestone take note] from the consequences of fully expanded capitalist production,

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[who] seem to live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry States, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., have such an institution as a Labor Bureau, from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary."

It is therefore clear why in the United States the struggles of the workers for shorter work days, more wages, from the very beginning assumed a most militant character and bring them into direct clashes with the State. It was the rapid concentration of industry in the United States which made the American working class the pioneer in the struggle for the eight-hour day and in the establishment of our International Day, May First.

In the honeymoon days of the "purely bourgeois" development of American capitalism, when free land was still within the reach of the people, we see that even then, prior to the 20th century, the exploitation of the American working class assumed sharp forms. So much so, that Marx posed the question in a letter to Sorge in 1881:

> "How is it to be explained that in the United States where relatively speaking in comparison with civilized Europe the acquisition of land was and still is within the reach of the people, that capitalist economy and the consequent enslavement of the working class *developed more rapidly and in a more inhuman form than in any other country?*" (Our emphasis.—S. D.)

II.

At the end of the 19th century, Engels, in speaking of the United States, already stated: " . . . we are witnessing the emergence of a multitudinous proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capital." (From Engels' Preface to the German edition of 1890 of the *Communist Manifesto.*)

In the rapid concentration of production and capital in the United States at the end of the 19th century, we see the emergence of monopoly capital developing the United States into an imperialis country. The Spanish American War of 1898 ushers American capitalism into the sphere of the struggle of the powerful imperialist powers for the world market.

Lenin, in his *Imperialism,* saw in the rise of American imperialism the most characteristic features of the development of monopoly capitalism.

But the emergence of American imperialism did not take the form of a "Victorian Age" (Lovestone) such as English capitalism occupied when it was the workshop of the world. Germany and Japan simultaneously emerged as imperialist countries fighting for supre-

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acy and were serious competitors of the older imperialist powers. This sharpened competition between the imperialist powers for a world market which was already divided, did not make the progress of American imperialism easy and unhindered. It was at the expense of the standard of living of the workers and farmers in the United States that American capitalism, compelled to meet the growing competition on the world market, tried to establish its supremacy.*

With the development of American imperialism, therefore, the class relations in the United States sharpen to unprecedented proportions. Militant strikes, the tremendous growth of the Socialist Party, the vote for Roosevelt in 1912, bear witness to the clear-cut dividing class lines. The contradictions of capitalism in the United States had reached such a sharp point before the World War, that Lenin, in analyzing the Presidential elections of 1912 in the United States, in the light of the vote cast for the Progressive Party headed by Theodore Roosevelt, wrote:

> "The old parties were the results of the period that was faced with the task of the quickest development of capitalism. The struggle between the parties was confined to this question of how better to help to speed up and facilitate this development.
>
> "The new party is the child of the modern epoch, which has *thrown up the question of the very existence of capitalism.* In the freest and the most progressive country, in America, this question appears on the order of the day more broadly and vigorously. [Our emphasis.—S. D.]
>
> "The whole program, the whole agitation of Roosevelt and of the 'Progressives,' centers around this: *'How to save capitalism by bourgeois reforms.'* "

Lenin, already before the war, on the basis of the particularly rapid concentration of industries in the United States, which had been predicted by Marx and Engels, saw the contradictions of capitalism and the class relationships reached such sharp proportions where the question of the "very existence of capitalism and the saving of capitalism" was on the order of the day.

If we view the entire development of capitalism, especially as we see it in this period, the following statement of Marx applies to American capitalism with greater force than to any other capitalist country in the world.

> "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process

*The specific features of the development of American imperialism, its advantages during the World War, the post-war development, the rise of the aristocracy of labor and consequent ideological effects on the American working clas, are dealt with later on.

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> of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself." (*Capital,* Vol. I.)

It is clear now, when we view from a Marxian standpoint the fluidity of class relations in the United States in the *early* development of capitalism made possible by the relative absence of a feudal past, which allowed capitalism to develop here in a "purely bourgeois" fashion, hastening the tempo and rapidity of capitalist development—all this could not but lead to the *classical* development of the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the United States, leading to a growth of the "revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."

Within the forces which have in the past made the American working class "backward" we already had the germ and the nucleus of which Marx and Engels spoke, the emergence of a revolutionary working class.

Engels gives us the best cue for understanding the past forces which accounted for political backwardness, reflecting itself in our sectarianism, and the growing, "sudden" militant mass actions of the masses at the present time. He said:

> "In European countries it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and, under the existing social conditions a permanent class of modern society, and it took years again until this class consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party independent of and opposed to all the old political parties formed by the various sections of the ruling class. *On the more favored soil of America, where no medieval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of modern bourgeois society, as evolved in the seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two stages of its development within ten months.*" (*The Labor Movement in America,* 1887.)

The American working class, the oppressed Negro people, the farmers, are at the present time, in this period of the worst crisis of capitalism, passing through stages of development "within ten months" which in the past took the European working class perhaps decades. To the extent that the Party understands the historical basis for our sectarianism and the specific peculiarities of the development of the American working class, and above all to the extent that it has firm and permanent contacts with the masses, to that extent will decades of developments pass through in periods of months.

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How prophetic are the words of Engels:

> "For America after all was the ideal of all the bourgeoisie; a country rich, vast, expanding with purely bourgeois institutions unrestricted by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeoisie thought that America stood above class antagonisms and class struggles. The delusion has now broken down, the last bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, *and can only be prevented from becoming like Europe, an Inferno, by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly-fledged proletariat of America will take place.*" (Letter of Engels to Mrs. Wischnewetsky, June 3, 1886. Our emphasis.—S. D.)

In the days of prosperity the Second Socialist International presented America as a "bourgeois paradise." The theoreticians of the Second Socialist International declared Marx dead and hailed Ford as the new Messiah of the working class. At the same time the Lovestone renegades evolved their theories of American "exceptionalism." But indeed, now with close to 17,000,000 unemployed, when more and more the cry is heard from the responsible intellects of American capitalism that "capitalism is on trial," "save us from revolution," the last bourgeois paradise on earth is fast changing into a purgatory.

Our teachers, Marx and Engels, in the past, as well as Lenin and Stalin, who with the keenest interest followed the struggles of the American working class, have lashed the sectarianism of their friends in the United States and at the same time unfolded on the basis of the rapid development of capitalism in the United States, the broadest revolutionary perspectives.

The objective forces which laid the foundation for the emergence of a homogenous American revolutionary proletariat in contradistinction to those objective forces which delayed and hindered the emergence of a homogenous proletariat, will not by themselves *automatically* eliminate the ideological effect of the past. We must remember, that it was not only the objective forces of the past which deterred the development of an independent working class movement in the United States. *It was also largely due to the sectarianism and dogmatism of the earliest Marxist groups up to the formation of the Communist Party.* The failure of these groups to understand the concrete historical peculiarities of the country, the failure to adopt the correct Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics to these peculiar conditions to set he American working class in motion, hindered the rapid development of revolutionary working

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class action. It was both the petty-bourgeois reformism of the Socialist Party and the left sectarianism of the I. W. W., S. L. P. —each tendency feeding each other, that have served to isolate the revolutionary elements from the basic sections of the American working class.

These practices and tendencies of the left sectarianism of the I. W. W. and S. L. P., as well as the petty-borgeois reformism of the S. P. still cast their shadow on the present and retard the development of the mass work of the part and its Bolshevization. *Only to the extent that our Party in the Leninist sense, will emerge as the deciding subjective factor, basing itself on the new forces making for the revolutionization of the American working class, and through the adoption of proper mass policies for establishing its decisive leadership can it enable the American working class on the basis of its own experiences, to rid itself of all past ideological influences and effects, speeding up the growth of its revolutionary consciousness.*

In speaking of the American workers passing through in months what took the European workers decades, we must guard ourselves against jumping over necessary and inevitable stages in the present development of the revolutionary forces in the country as well as against "leftist" exaggerations. (We shall deal with these distortions in the second part of the article.) The problems of American exceptionalism, the "Americanization" of Marxism by the social fascists, the new role of the working classes and its allies (the oppressed Negro people and the farmers) will be dealt with in the second part of this article.

(*To be continued*)

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Marxism and Revisionism

By V. I. LENIN

EDITORIAL NOTE: *The article* "Marxism and Revisionism" *was first published in* 1908 *on the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. It was written by Lenin for a special Russian collection of articles which was published under the ittle* "In Memory of Karl Marx." *This volume, though suppressed by the Tsarist government immediately upon publication, played an important role in helping to clarify a number of issues which were agitating Russian Marxists. The revisionist attack upon revolutionary Marxism launched by Eduard Bernstein and propagated by his petty-bourgeois and opportunist supporters in the international Socialist movement, found in the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership an iron wall of opposition and defense of the teachings of Marx and Engels.*

The article printed below is but one of the many which Lenin wrote in his struggle against all attempts at revision of Marxism, and opportunist practices which were flowing from these revisions. He devoted a whole book, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, *written the same year, against a group who were undermining the philosophical foundations of Marxism.*

Marx was unsparing in his treatment of Proudhon, Bakunin, Lassalle and all others whose teachings would mislead the workers from the correct path of revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class and the State apparatus which it has built up for its maintenance. Similarly, Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought bitterly Bernstein and the Machist Bogdanov, and others who attempted to emasculate the revolutionary theory of the working class—the theory developed by Marx and Engels.

This article of Lenin is very timely in our struggle against revisionism and the revisionists.

ACCORDING to a well-known saying, geometric axioms would certainly have been refuted if they were to touch upon the interests of men. Theories of natural science, which conflicted with the old prejudices of theology, have caused and continue to cause the most violent battles. It is, therefore, no wonder that the teachings of Marx, which serve directly for the enlightenment

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and organization of the most progressive class in contemporary society; which point out the tasks of that class, and prove the inevitable replacement of the old order of society by a new one as a result of economic development—it is, therefore, no wonder that these teachings had to take by battle every step on their path of life.

Bourgeois science and philosophy, as taught by the official professors to stultify the growing youth of the propertied classes and to instigate it against foreign and domestic enemies, would not even hear about Marxism, declaring it refuted and destroyed. Both, young scientists, who build their careers on the refutation of Socialism, and senile elders, who guard the covenants of all kinds of obsolete "systems," attack Marx with equal zeal. The growth of Marxism, the spreading and strengthening of its ideas among the working class inevitably cause the repetition and the sharpening of these bourgeois sallies against Marxism. After every "annihilation" by official science, Marxism becomes stronger, hardened and more virile.

But even among the teachings connected with the struggles of the working class, and spread primarily among the proletariat, Marxism did not strengthen its position all at once. The first half century of its existence (from the forties of the 19th century) Marxism struggled against theories radically hostile to it. In the first half of the forties Marx and Engels settled their score with the Young Hegelians, who were the exponents of philosophical idealism. Towards the end of the forties begins the struggle in the sphere of economic doctrines—against Proudhonism. The fifties witness the conclusion of these struggles: the critique of parties and of teachings which manifested themselves in the stormy year of 1848. In the sixties the struggle is transplanted from the realm of general theory into a sphere much closer to the movement of the working class: the expulsion of Bakuninism from the International. The Proudhonist Muelberger occupies the limelight in Germany for a short time at the beginning of the seventies and the positivist Duehring at their end. But the influence upon the proletariat of both is already negligible. Marxism is already winning a positive victory over all other ideologies of the working class movement.

Basically, this victory was consolidated towards the nineties of the last century. Even in the Latin countries, where the traditions of Proudhonism remained the longest, the workers were building their programs and tactics of the basis of Marxism. The renewed international organization of the proletarian movement, which manifested itself in periodical international congresses, based itself in all its essentials at once and almost without struggle on the ground of Marxism. But after Marxism had dislodged all the diverse

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teachings hostile to it, the tendencies expressed in these teachings began to search for new outlets. The forms of, and the reasons for the struggle, have changed, but the struggle itself continued. The second half century of the existence of Marxism (the nineties of the last century) began with the struggle within Marxism against the tendencies inimical to it.

Bernstein, the former orthodox Marxist, when he came out noisily with the most complete formulation of corrections to Marx, of re-examination of Marx, named this tendency revisionism. Even in Russia, where non-Marxian Socialism remained the longest, due to the backward economic state of the country, and due to the predominance of peasantry oppressed by the remnants of slavery, it grows into revisionism under our very eyes. Both in the agrarian problem (the program of land municipalization) and in the general questions of program and tactics, our social-populists are substituting more and more "corrections" to Marx in place of the old dying out remnants of their system, which is radically hostile to Marxism.

Pre-Marxian Socialism is smashed. It continues the struggle not on its own ground any longer, but on the general ground of Marxism, as revisionism. Let us analyze the ideological contents of revisionism.

In the realm of philosophy revisionism followed at the tail of bourgeois professional "science." The professors were going "back to Kant" and the revisionists were trailing behind the the neo-Kantians. The professors were repeating the rehashed priestly trivialities against philosophical materialism and the revisionists not to be outdone, mumbled with a condescending smile (word for word from the latest handbook) that materialism was long since "refuted." The professors were treating Hegel like a "dead dog," preaching their own brand of idealism, a thousand times more petty and trivial than Hegel's, and were disdainfully shrugging their shoulders about dialectics—and the revisionists trailed after them into the mire of the philosophical debasing of science and the substitution of the "simple" (and peaceful) "evolution" for the "intricate" (and revolutionary) dialectics. The professors have earned their official wages by adjusting their idealistic and "critical" systems to the ruling philosophy of the middle ages (i.-e. to theology)—and the revisionists were playing into their hands by endeavoring to make religion a "private affair" not with regards to the contemporary State but with regards to the Party of the most advanced class in society.

There is no need to speak of the class significance of all these "corrections" to Marx—this is evident on the face of it. It is only

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necessary to point to Plekhanov—the only Marxist in the ranks of the international social democracy, who gave a critique from the standpoint of consistent dialectic materialism, of all the unbelievable platitudes of the revisionists. This must be strongly emphasized, particularly in view of the fact that at present erroneous attempts are being made to put through the old and reactionary philosophical rubbish nder the guise of Plekhanov's critique of tactical opportunism.*

Turning to the subject of political economy, we must state first of all that in this domain the "corrections" of the revisionists are much more detailed and many-sided. The public was to be influenced by means of "new data of economic development." The revisionists said that there is no concentration and supplanting of small producers by large ones in agriculture and that in trade and industry this process is a very slow one. They said that crises have become rarer and weaker and that the cartels and trusts will probably give an opportunity to capital to eliminate them altogether. They said that the "theory of the collapse" of capitalism is groundless due to the tendency of weakening of class contradictions. Finally, they said that it would not be amiss to correct Marx' theory of value according to Boehm-Baewerk.

The struggle with the revisionists on these questions produced an enlivening of the theoretical ideas of international Socialism no less fruitful than the polemic of Engels with Duehring twenty years earlier. Facts and figures were used to defeat the arguments of the revisionists. It was proven that the revisionists had systematically been showing the contemporary petty production in rosy colors. The fact of the technical and commercial superiority of large scale production over small scale production, not only in industry but in agriculture, too, is substantiated by irrefutable data. But commodity production is much less developed in agriculture, and the contemporary statisticians and economists know little how to point to the special branches (and at times even operations) of agriculture, which express the progressive involving of agriculture in the *exchange* process of world economy.

Petty production is able to retain its position on the ruins of natural economy only thanks to a tremendous curtailment of feed-

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* See Bogdanov's, Bazarov's and others, *Sketches of the Philosophy of Marxism.* There is no room here to analyze this book, and I must confine myself to the statement that I will prove in the near future in a series of articles and in a separate booklet, that everything stated in the text about the neo-Kantian revisionists can also be applied in principle to these "new" neo-Humeist and neo-Berkeleyan revisionists. (See, V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.*)

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ing, thanks to a chronic starvation, the lengthening of the working day, worsening of the quality of livestock and its care, in a word, thanks to the same means by which handicraft production was able to retain its position in the face of the onslaught of capitalist manufacture. Every step forward in science and technology tears down inevitably and pitilessly the bases of petty production in capitalist society. The task of Socialist economy is to examine this process in all its forms, which are at times complicated and involved; to prove to the petty producer the impossibility of survival under capitalism; to show the helpless position of the peasant economy under capitalism and the necessity of the peasant's acquiring the proletarian point of view. In regard to this question the revisionists were sinning against the scientific approach by the shallow generalization of a few facts taken at random and without connection with the general structure of capitalism. They were sinning against the political approach, insofar that they inevitably called the peasant and directed him to the viewpoint of the owner (i.-e. the bourgeoisie) instead of directing him towards the viewpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

As regards the theory of crises and the theory of the collapse of capitalism, the revisionists were faring much worse. Only the most shortsighted people could think for a moment about changing the foundation of the teachings of Marx under the influence of a few years of industrial revival and prosperity. The reality of a crisis having set in after prosperity, proved to the revisionists very quickly that the time of crises had not yet passed. The forms, the succession and the picture of these crises have changed, but the crises themselves remained an inevitable component part of the capitalist system. Cartels and trusts, uniting production, have at the same time increased the anarchy of production under our very eyes; have increased the insecurity of the proletariat and the oppression of capital, thus sharpening class contradictions to a degree unheard of heretofore. That capitalism is headed for a crash both in the sense of individual political and economic crises, as well as in the sense of the complete breakdown of the whole capitalist order, has been revealed precisely by the new gigantic trusts with particular clarity and on a broad scale. As a result of the recent financial crisis in America, and of the terrific increase of unemployment all over Europe—let alone the approaching industrial crisis to which many signs are pointing—the "theories" of the revisionists have been forgotten if not by all, at least by many of their own numbers. It is, however, necessary not to forget the lessons which this intellectual vacillation has given to the working class.

It is necessary to state that in regard to Boehm-Baewerk's theory

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of value the revisionists have given absolutely nothing except nebulous allusions and sighs. They have, therefore, left no traces in the development of scientific thought.

In the realm of politics, revisionism really tried to revise the basis of Marxism, namely the teaching about the class struggle. We were told that political freedom, democracy and universal suffrage are destroying the ground for class struggle and prove incorrect the old postulate of the *Communist Manifesto* that workingmen have no fatherland. Once the "will of the majority" is ruling, as in democracy, there is no need any longer to consider the State as an organ of class rule, nor is there any reason for not entering into alliances with the progressive social-reformist bourgeoisie against reactionaries.

Undoubtedly these arguments of the revisionists were forming a rather harmonious system of opinion, namely the old and well-known liberal bourgeois opinions. The liberals have always claimed that bourgeois parliamentarism destroys classes and class divisions once it gives right of participation in the affairs of the State, to all citizens without any distinction. The whole history of Europe during the second half of the 19th century, and the whole history of the Russian revolution at the beginning of the 20th century, proves clearly the absurdity of these opinions. Economic differentiations are not weakened, but on the contrary, are strengthened and sharpened under the freedom of "democratic" capitalism. Parliamentarism does not remove, but exposes the essence of the democratic bourgeois republics as organs of class oppression. While parliamentarism helps in the education and organization of the broader masses of population than those which heretofore actively participated in political events, it does not, however, tend to remove crises and political revolutions but, on the contrary, tends to the greatest sharpening of civil war during such revolutions. Events in Paris in the Spring of 1871, and in Russia in the Winter of 1905, have shown clearly the inevitability of such a sharpening. Without a moment's hesitation, the French bourgeoisie struck a bargain with its national enemy, with a foreign army, which invaded and partitioned its fatherland, in order to suppress the proletarian movement. He who does not understand the inevitable inner dialectics of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, which now more than ever uses violence to solve disputes, will never be in a position to conduct on the ground of such parliamentarism a principal sustained agitation and propaganda actually preparing the working class to a victorious participation in such "disputes." The experience of alliances, agreements and blocs with social-reformist liberalism in the West and with liberal reformism (Constitution Democrats) in

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the Russian revolution, proved conclusively that these agreements only serve to dull the consciousness of the masses. It does not strengthen but weakens the actual significance of their struggle, by binding the fighting masses to elements, least capable to struggle and most vacillating and treacherous. French militarism, the major experience of the application of revisionist political tactics on a broad and actual national scale, gave a practical appraisal of revisionism such as the world proletariat will never forget.

A natural supplement of the economic and political tendencies of revisionism was its position on the final aim of the Socialist movement. "The final aim is nothing, the movement—everything," such is Bernstein's pun, which expresses the essence of revisionism better than many long discourses. To define its conduct from circumstance to circumstance; to adjust oneself to the events of the day and to the turns of petty details forgetting the fundamental interests of the proletariat, the basic features of the whole capitalist system and of the whole capitalist development; to sacrifice these vital interests for the sake of real or imaginary advantages of the moment—such is the politics of revisionism. It is evident, from the very essence of this policy, that it will assume an infinite variety of forms, that every more or less "new" problem, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, although this turn only in a very small degree and for a brief period of time changes the fundamental line of development, will always inevitably call forth various forms of revisionism.

The inevitability of revisionism is conditioned by its class roots in contemporary society. Revisionism is an international phenomenon. There cannot be a shred of doubt for every more or less thinking and informed Socialist that the relations between the orthodox Socialists and the Bernstein group in Germany; the Guesdists and the Jauresists (now particularly the Broussists) in France; the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor Party in England; of Broukere and Vandervelde in Belgium; of the Integralists and Reformists in Italy; of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in Russia, despite the great diversity of national conditions and historical moments in the present state of all these countries, are all essentially uniform in their differences. "The division" within contemporary international Socialism proceeds now essentially along *one* line in the different countries of the world, testifying to the tremendous step forward in comparison with what was taking place thirty to forty years ago, when in different countries the struggle was waged between non-uniform tendencies within the single international Socialism. Both the "revisionism from the left," which appears now in the Latin countries, and "revolutionary

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syndicalism" are adapting themselves to Marxism by "correcting" it; among others Labriola in Italy, Lagardell in France, are appealing from Marx, the misinterpreted, to Marx, the properly interpreted.

We cannot stop here at the analysis of the ideological contents of *this* revisionism, which is as yet far from being developed as is the opportunist revisionism; which has not as yet becme internationalized; which has not as yet emerged from a single major practical conflict with the Socialist Party in even one country. We, therefore, confine ourselves to that "revisionism from the right" which was described above.

Wherein consists the inevitability of revisionism in the capitalist society? Why is it deeper than the differences of national peculiarities and the degrees of development of capitalism? Because, in every capitalist country there are always to be found side by side with the proletariat the broad strata of petty bourgeoisie and of petty owners. Capitalism was born and is constantly being reborn of petty production. Capitalism inevitably creates anew several "middle strata" (a supplement to the factory, work at home, petty workshops scattered throughout the whole country to supply the demands of large scale industry such as automobile or bicycle production, etc.). These new petty producers are just as inevitably being again thrown out into the ranks of the proletariat. It is, therefore, quite natural that the petty-bourgeois outlook will again and again manifest itself in the ranks of the broad working class parties. It is also natural that it must be so and it will be so until the very day of the proletarian revolution, for it would be a grave error to think that the "full" proletarianization of the majority of the population is necessary in order to realize such a revolution.

That which we are living through at present, is frequently only ideological; the disputes with the theoretical corrections to Marx. All out, which now breaks out in the practical activities on separate questions in the working class movement, as the tactical differences with the revisionists and the occurring splits on that ground—all *that* the working class will yet have to live through on a much larger scale, when the proletarian revolution will sharpen all the points of dispute; will concentrate all the differences of opinion on points having the most immediate significance for the determination of the conduct of the masses; and will, in the heat of struggle, compel the separation of friends from foes, casting aside bad allies in order to deliver a decisive blow to the enemy.

The ideological struggle of revolutionary Marxism against revisionism towards the end of the 19th century is only a prelude to

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the great revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, which is marching forward to the full and final victory of its cause, despite all the vacillations and weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie.

In the minds of the toilers of or country and of the international proletariat the whole period of Socialist construction and its victory in the U. S. S .R. is linked up with the name of Comrade Stalin. On the basis of the law of the even development of imperialism, he worked out and carried into operation the Leninist teachings on the building up of Socialism in a single country. In this Stalinist position, which is understodd by the whole of the Communist International, the task of preparing the international proletariat for a new round of wars and revolutions is actually being carried out. Under the leadership of Lenin, the C. P. S. U. defeated Menshevism, which stood in the path of the proletarian revolution in Russia; under the leadership of Stalin, in the period of Socialist construction, a decisive blow was struck at the Menshevism of our epoch which sometimes appears in the form of counter-revolutionary Trotskyinsm and sometimes in the form of the Right opportunist deviation.—*Manuilsky.*

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The Revisionism of Sidney Hook

By EARL BROWDER (*Concluded*)

II.

In the first part of this article, we refuted complaints of Sidney Hook that his views had been distorted and misrepresented. In the course of answering these questions, we already indicated the most essential features of a critical examination of Hook's system as a whole. Facilitating the further development of the argument, we have Hook's own formulation of what he considers the most essential features of his understanding of Marx, written as the second section of his reply to Comrade Jerome's article. Following out the method used in the first article, we are in the following paragraphs giving Hook's complete formulation:

"II.

"Marxism is the theory and practice of social revolution. It distinguishes itself from all other theories of revolution in that its method is the method of dialectic. From the point of view of method it is the *dialectic method* of social revolution. What does this mean? On the basis of the objective tendencies of capitalist production, through the revolutionary *class action* of the proletariat, Socialism will be achieved. Marxism is a dialectical synthesis of the objective and subjective (class) moments of the historical process. Those who accept Marx' objective descriptions of the nature of capitalist production, the centralization and concentration of capital, the decline in the average rate of profit, the gradual disappearance of capital and the creation of an industrial reserve army, the existence of the class struggle—are not yet Marxists. A Marxist is one who on the basis of these facts espouses the cause of the working class and engages in a revolutionary struggle for a classless society which will be achieved through a period of proletarian dictatorship. The Marxist is therefore an activist who develops a program of activity steering himself by the objective development of society and his class goal. Consequently, he cannot rely upon the automatic processes at work in society to realize his class goal. Revolutions can only be accomplished by the *conscious will* of classes organized into power by political parties.

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"If this be so, Marxism is not fatalism and Communism is not inevitable. If it were, there would be no need of revolutionary theory or struggle. On the very second page of the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx tells us that the class struggles of the past 'invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes.' That is as true today as in the past. There is no way out of the crisis of capitalism except by social revolution. But there is no guarantee that unless the class struggle is waged unceasingly, intelligently, forcefully,—it will eventuate in social revolution. This was expressed in the Party slogan some years back which figured conspicuously on the mastheads of its daily organ—'Either Communism or barbarism.' This was expressed by Marx in his letter to Kugelmann in 1870 in which he said: 'England possesses all the necessary material presuppositions for the social revolution. What it lacks is the spirit of generalization and of revolutionary passion.' This is expressed in every issue of *The Communist* in which the Party is criticized for lagging behind objective conditions.

"But this is a commonplace: the reader will exclaim. Quite right, but the consequences of this commonplace are far from commonplace. For they involve the abandonment of the theoretical heritage of the Second International—and of its strongest party, the German Social Democracy,—which taught that Marxism was an evolutionary *science* of social development, and that the social revolution was as inevitable as an eclipse. It therefore could surrender itself to reformist practices, for by its own assumption, nothing that it could do could further the social revolution. This astronomical theory of Socialism was reflected in America in the writings of Daniel De Leon, than whom none was more 'orthodox'. The inevitable effects of worsening economic conditions would lash the working class into class consciousness. The worse things became, the better. Therefore there was no sense in fighting for the immediate demands of the masses. The task of a political party was not to lead the working class in its every struggle but merely to draw up a platform which the objective pressure of the environment would compel the working class—willy-nilly—to accept. De Leon was not altogether consistent and at times he realized that it was rarely the case that the workers who were *worst* off were the *most* class conscious.

"It was Lenin who broke with the traditions of the Second International, restored Marxism to its original spirit and developed its doctrines in an analysis of the problems of revolutionary theory and practice in the era of finance capitalism. But not all of those

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who profess themselves his followers have cast off the fatalistic ideological baggage of the Second International. As late as the Second Congress of the Third International Lenin reminded those who held that capitalism would automatically collapse that 'there do not exist any positions from which there is absolutely no way out.' Ideologically, Lenin had already broken with the Second International at the beginning of the century. His *What Is To Be Done?* shows this clearly. Ignorance of this work was responsible for errors I committed in discussing Lenin's views in some of my early articles, (especially the "Philosophy of Dialectic Materialism", *Journal of Philosophy*, 1928). To this day Lenin's book has remained a much neglected work in the Communist movement.

"Once it is realized that Marxism is the theory and practice of the social revolution, all of Marx' doctrines take on a characteristic emphasis as theoretical instruments in the class struggle. Historical materialism no longer appears as a mechanical system of sociology, as in the writings of Bukharin, or as a theory which explains all of *past* history, as in Kautsky, but as a guide to history in the making, calling attention to what must *now* be changed in order to achieve the classless society of the future. The theory of surplus-value is no longer a doctrine which proves that the working class must be completely pauperized before it can engage in revolutionary activity (Hilferding) but one which shows how the *present* struggle for a higher standard of living is itself a part of the revolutionary struggle. The class struggle becomes not an economic or political *Lehrsatz* but a struggle in behalf of the revolutionary purposes and values of the working class in *every* field of culture. The theory of Marxism is no longer an ideological reflex of the economic process but, when embraced by the working class, a powerful and *necessary* contributory factor in the social revolution. When the objective social conditions are present, a revolutionary situation at hand, and a well organized working class led by a political Party schooled in the teachings of Marx and Lenin in the vanguard of the struggle of all oppressed elements in society—then, and only then, does this complex of *necessary* conditions become the *sufficient* condition for a successful social revolution. All this I develop in well-documented detail in my book *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*.

"Now for what Menshevik idealists, in this country and in Germany, have called my deviations.

"1) If Marxism is a theory of social revolution, its principles must be guides to action. If they are guides to action, they cannot be *passive reflections* of the things they are to transform. Ideas, then, are not images, reflections (*Spiegelbilder* or *Abbilder*) or

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carbon copies of things. They are instruments of actions which are true if they enable us to solve the problems out of which they arise. (Second gloss on Feuerbach). Experience and analysis teach us which ideas will probably be more effective than others. But this can only be tested in action. Because ideas enable us to solve problems, it does not follow that they must be a duplicatory image of what they solve any more than because a knife can cut bread it must be an image of bread. This does not mean that ideas come from nowhere or are heaven sent. Ideas are *outgrowths* of the interaction between objects and the brain. They are a specific kind of outgrowth. They are, *plans of action.* If they were not, what would be the use of having ideas or of propagating Marxism?

"I have just sketched a theory of perception which was indicated by Marx in his critical gloss on Feuerbach. (First gloss on Feuerbach). John Dewey, on independent psychological grounds, developed this theory into a complete doctrine. Dewey's theory of perception has nothing to do with his theory of class-collaboration any more than Pavlov's brain physiology and psychology of the conditioned reflex are connected with his reactionary politics. This theory of perception is part of the science of our day and no thinking dialectical materialist can reject it. Jerome argues that because Dewey developed the instrumental theory of perception and supported the war, etc., the two must be causally related. This is logically infantile. The reasoning is as stupid as the inference which Nazi critics draw that because Marx was Jewish and the author of the revolutionary theory of the working class, the two are logically connected. Elsewhere I have myself criticized Dewey's class-collaborative politics. I should like to be shown how Dewey's politics follow as a *logical consequence* from his theory of perception.

"2) I do not accept Morgan's scheme of social evolution according to which all societies *must* go through the same stages of social development, family relationships, political forms. Modern anthropologists have conclusively demonstrated that there is no unvarying, unilinear order of succession which social institutions obey. A variation of this argument was used by the Mensheviks to prove that the proletarian revolution could not take place in Russia because it violated the inevitable historical law of social evolution. An interesting criticism of Morgan's anthropology—which was accepted by Engels—will be found in Bernard J. Stern's *Lewis H. Morgan—Social Evolutionist.*

"3) If by dialectic we mean the laws of motion, polarity, and the transformation of quantity into quality—then dialectic is uni-

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versal, applies to nature as well as to man—and I have never denied it. But the distinctively *Marxian* conception of dialectic is historical and social. The social historic dialectic necessarily involves the principle of class consciousness. If this element of consciousness is read back into nature, we get absolute idealism—a degenerate variety of Hegelian mysticism. This is the position which Jerome holds, but he is so innocent of philosophical knowledge that he does not realize it.

"This question has more than an academic importance. Plekhanov believed that there could only be sudden leaps in society (social revolution), if there were sudden leaps in nature. If this were so, all social life would be merely a chapter of physical life and explicable in physical terms. This runs counter to the spirit of the Marxian philosophy according to which man makes his own history (*dialectic*); but always under determinate social, historical and physical conditions (*materialism*).

"4) I do not believe that anyone has said the *final* word on anything. The teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin are the most valuable truths we have and fully warrant action along the lines laid out. But they themselves have urged that any movement which refuses to learn *new* things in *new* situations—to submit all principles to the test of experience and action—is doomed to sectarianism and futile failure. This is the lesson which the Russian Revolution and the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union has reinforced again and again. That is the meaning of creative Marxism.

SIDNEY HOOK."

What is the outstanding feature of the above self-characterization of Hook's Marxism? In my opinion it is, on the one hand, the critical attitude towards and attempts to correct Marx, Engels and Lenin, accompanied by, on the other hand, the uncritical acceptance of the theories of John Dewey as the basis for a revised Marxism.

Already in the previous article, I indicated the significance of the absence from Hook's writings of any consistent or sustained polemics against the various schools of bourgeois philosophy. This in itself constitutes sufficient proof that Hook is a revisionist of Marxism. There still remains the question of who is correct. Is it Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin? Or has Hook, with the assistance of John Dewey, really discovered some profound truths which escaped the minds of the greatest revolutionary thinkers? It is this question that we will attempt to briefly answer in the present article.

What is the great contribution of John Dewey which Hook thinks has "improved" on Marx and Lenin? It is Dewey's theory

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of cognition or "theory of perception". Just what this theory signifies may be seen from a few quotations directly from Dewey himself:

> "It may well be admitted that there is a real sense in which knowledge (as distinct from thinking or inquiring with a guess attached) does not come into existence until thinking has permeated in the experimental act which fulfills the specifications set forth in thinking." 'From the *Philosophy of John Dewey*, selected and edited by Joseph Ratner, published by George Allen & Unwin, p. 159.)

And further:

> "The object has to be 'reached' eventually, in order to get clarification or invalidation, and when so reached, it is immediately present. . . . Short of verificatory objects directly present, we have not knowledge, but inference whose content is *hypothetical*. The subject matter of inference is a candidate or claim to knowledge requiring to have its value tested." (p. 210.)

This is the theory which, according to Hook, "is part of the science of our day and no thinking dialectical materialist can reject it."

A classical application of the theory is contained in the hypothetical case of the man lost in the forest and seeking a way out. (I think this originated with James and was taken over by Dewey. I am sorry not to have had time to hunt up reference to text on this and am forced to quote from memory.) According to this example, the lost man beginning to think about his plight, projects various inferential ways out of the forest and then proceeds to act upon one or other of these inferences. When one of these has been acted upon successfully and has led him out of the forest, then and only then, in the process of realizing the truth of an inference, has the man gained knowledge. The knowledge gained in one experience is of value for other experiences only in enriching his stock of inferences from which to choose. The process of accumulation of knowledge is one of broadening the possible choice of various inferences. According to this, only the ignorant man can feel sure of anything before it happens and the more knowledge he acquires, the more he has to hesitate in face of his growing stock of inferences from which he must choose. The truth cannot be a matter of fore-knowledge because it is a product of the action of the subject, who has *created* the truth by successfully acting upon an inference.

It is in order to make room for this pragmatic theory that Hook rejects the basic postulate of dialectical materialism that an idea is "an image corresponding to the perception of the external phenomena", and that "sensation is nothing but a direct connection of the

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mind with the external world; it is the transformation of energy, of external excitation into a mental state." (Volume 13, Lenin's *Collected Works*, p. 31.)

In order to more effectively attack this Marxian understanding (which is an essential feature of the thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin), Hook proceeds to make "images" into "carbon copies"; i. e., he makes the dialectical materialism of Marx synonymous with the mechanical materialism of the Encyclopedists. He tries to prove that correspondence between objective reality and mental processes results in fatalism and reliance upon the automatic processes; he declares that only when this is "corrected" according to Dewey, does Marxism really become an effective theory and practice of social revolution. He sums up this thought in his formulation that if "Marxism is not fatalism", then "Communism is not inevitable."

In support of his contention that Communism is not inevitable, Hook, in true revisionist manner, aims to bring forward Marx as his supporter. He cites the passage in the *Communist Manifesto* which, in referring to class struggles in past societies, says of the classes:

> "They carried on perpetual warfare, sometimes masked, sometimes open and acknowledged; a warfare that invariably ended, either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Basing himself on this passage, Hook contends that he has Marx' sanction for the theory that Communism is not inevitable, that the struggle of proletariat against bourgeoisie may likewise end "in the common ruin of the contending classes".

In advancing this argument, Hook merely betrays his utter inability to apply dialectic materialism to history, shows his metaphysical concept of historic parallelism for all ages and all class societies, and incidentally, his ignorance of Marxism. For, in *Die Deutsche Ideologie* (pp. 43-44, Adoratsky Edition, Volksausgabe —German), Marx and Engels expressly state:

> " It depends entirely on the extensiveness of commercial relations whether or not the attained productive forces, namely inventions, of a locality are lost for later progress. As long as there is no market extending beyond the immediate vicinity, each invention must be specially made in each locality, and mere accidents such as the invasions of barbarian peoples, even ordinary wars, are sufficient to bring a country with developed productive forces and wants to such a pass that it must start again from the beginning. In early history every invention had to be renewed practically daily and in each locality independently. How little assured developed productive forces are against complete decline, even those with a relatively very

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> extensive trade, is shown by the Phoenicians, whose inventions and discoveries were for the most part lost for a long time through the exclusion of this nation from trade, through the conquest by Alexander, resulting in its complete decay. Likewise the art of staining glass in the middle ages, for example. *Only when commercial intercourse has become world trade and has as its base large-scale industry, and all nations have been drawn into competitive struggle, only then is the duration of the attained productive forces assured.*" (*Die Deutsche Ideologie,* pp. 43-44. Italics mine.—E. B.

It is clear from these words of Marx and Engels that it was to past societies and not to capitalist society that the reference to "the common ruin of the contending classes" was made in the *Manifesto.* Let the authors of the *Manifesto* attest to this. The following passage from the *Communist Manifesto* certainly leaves no doubt as to the views of Marx and Engels on the inevitability of the fall of capitalism—not together with the proletariat, but attended by the rise of the proletariat as the ruling class:

> "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces above all, is its own grave-diggers. *Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.*" (Italics mine.—E. B.)

We offer this instance of Hook's attempt to rest on Marx as typical of the manner in which the revisionists seek to hallow their revisionism with "quotations" from Marx.

What Hook is accomplishing by this revision, is to surrender dialectical materialism to idealism—to that specific brand of idealism which calls itself pragmatism, or instrumentalism. He promises us that through this exchange we will emerge from a condition of helpless puppets of blind forces, into a condition of masters of social processes,—that we will emerge from the kingdom of necessity to that of freedom. But his advertisements for his wares are highly exaggerated. It is one of the contradictions of all idealist philosophy that the more it promises, the less it delivers. This is excellently illustrated in the case of Hook.

In the course of a debate with Mr. George Soule, I have already had occasion to evaluate briefly the relation of pragmatism to the problems of the revolutionary working class. I repeat what I said then, because it applies fully at this point:

> "This pragmatism that recognizes the truth only *a posteriori* (as the learned gentlemen say), only as something that has already arrived, cannot distinguish the face of the truth amidst falsehoods and illusions. It has an inherent inability to recognize the face of the truth, it proclaims that the only possible way to recognize the truth is when you see it from the rear, when you see its backside, when it has already passed into history. This is a convenient philos-

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ophy for that bourgeoisie which is 'sitting on the top of the world,' the bourgeoisie in ascendancy. But when bourgeois society falls into a crisis, this philosophy of pragmatism falls into crisis also along with the whole capitalist system. Where in the period of 'Coolidge prosperity' it gave all the answers required to all of the problems of the bourgeoisie, today it begins to give the wrong answers to the bourgeoisie. Even if we judge the capitalist system today by that final criterion of the pragmatists, *Does it work?*, we have the answer, 'No, it does not work.' So capitalism stands condemned by the standards of the philosophy of the bourgeoisie itself. By the same standard if we ask about the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the new Socialist planned economy, and ask, *Does it work?*' the answer is, 'Yes it does work. In the midst of a world that is going to pieces it works!' So pragmatism has failed its class creators in the crucial moment. It is unable to give capitalism any answer to the question, What way out? Because all the thinkers for capitalism are bound within the philosophical framework of pragmatism, they are unable to even formulate any proposals for a way out and are in the same position as the one who says, 'Maybe the revolutionists are right, maybe the reformists are right, who knows? Let us wait and see.

"But if pragmatism is of no use to the capitalist class to find a way out of the crisis, we must say it is of no use to the working class, either. The only effect of the influence of this ideological system upon the working class is a very poisonous one, to create hesitation, indecision, hesitation again, more indecision, wait and see, wait and see.

"The working class must have a different kind of philosophy, because the working class faces the future—not only faces the future, is already beginning to control the future. That is the essence of planning, *to control the future.* And you cannot control the future if your approach to the future is that it is impossible to know what is the truth until after the future has become the past. Those who are going to control the future must know what is the truth before the event, before it happens, and by knowing it, determine what is going to happen and see that it does happen. That is the revolutionary working class, the only power that is able to put into effect a planned economy, and the only class that is capable of developing the whole philosophy and the understanding of of society, which is necessary to put a plan into effect."

IV.

Before passing over to an examination of the consequences of Hook's revisionism, we will briefly examine the other three points of this statement.

Hook is quite delighted with the fact that Morgan's anthropology, which was accepted by Engels has been basically corrected on a certain point by modern research. He cites this, however, not from any interest in the questions involved, but because behind this he thinks he can smuggle in his whole system of separating Engels

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from Marx, both of them from Lenin, and their system of thought from the working class and its revolutionary Party. The significance of this point in his reply above, is to be found not in the text, but in what he has written elsewhere. Just a few quotations will suffice to indicate this system.

> "Certainly there is no justification for the easy assumption made by the self-styled orthodox, that there is a complete identity in the doctrines and standpoints of Marx and Engels."
>
> "It was Rosa Luxemburg, however, and not Lenin who delivered the classic attack against revisionism from the standpoint of dialectical Marxism."
>
> "There must have been aspects at least of Marx's doctrines which lent themselves to these different interpretations."

In these efforts at the disintegration of the Marxian system into an eclectic combination of more or less contradictory tendencies, we have at once both the rejection of Marxism as a science and also, an expression of the theory of inferences, of numberless possible ways out.

Behind these statements is the concerted effort of international revisionism to break the unity and continuity of Marxism in Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The effort expresses itself in various ways, but the central purpose of the revisionists is to show that Marxism was variously interpreted by its very founders, and at the same time to make Engels appear to sanction the opportunism and open treachery of the Second International. In this effort the revisionists stop at nothing, not even at forgery, as in the case of Bernstein's proved forgery of Engels' preface to Marx's *Class Struggle in France*, wherein Bernstein sought to make Engels appear a supporter of opportunist parliamentarism. The attacks upon Engels by social-fascism today are particularly directed against his development of the Marxian theory of the State and the seizure of power by the proletariat, in his "Anti-Duering" and *The Origin of the Family*.

Following upon his distortion of the role of Engels in the development of Marxism, Hook turns his attention to Lenin. We repeat in this regard, the above mentioned quotation:

> "It was Rosa Luxemburg, and not Lenin, who delivered the classic attack against revisionism from the standpoint of dialectic materialism." (*Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 350.)

We dwell on this statement because in it is contained the essence of the semi-Trotskyist article by Slutzki: "The Bosheviks and German Social Democracy in the Period of its Pre-War Crisis" which appeared in the *Proletarskaya Revolutzia* (No. 6, 1931), and against which Comrade Stalin launched his famous attack.

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The position that Slutzki took in that article was that, in the period before the war, Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks failed to carry on a relentless struggle for a breach with the opportunists and the centrist conciliators of the German Social Democracy and the Second International, that Lenin and the Bolsheviks failed to give full support to the left wingers in the German Social Democracy (Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg), thus retarding the struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

Comrade Stalin lays bare the falsity of this contention by recalling the revolutionary, anti-opportunist role of the Russian Bolsheviks who, as far back as 1903-4, worked for a breach with the opportunists, not only in the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia, but in the Second International as a whole, and especially in the German Party. Comrade Stalin brings Bolshevik critical judgement to bear on the role of the German left wingers at that time —a role that was far from being Bolshevist, and which, prevented the influence of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks from being exerted in the German Party against the opportunists and the centrists.

Comrade Stalin declares:

> "And what point of view was adopted by the left social democrats in Western Europe? They developed a semi-Menshevist theory of imperialism, rejecting the principle of the right of self-determination of the nations according to the Marxist conception (including separation and the formation of independent States), repelled the thesis of the serious revolutionary significance of the liberation movement in the colonies and oppressed countries, the thesis of the possibility of the united front between the proletarian revolution and the national emancipation movement, and counterposed the whole of his semi-Menshevist hodge-podge, representing an entire underestimation of the national and colonial question, to the Marxist idea represented by the Bolsheviks. It will be remembered that later on Trotsky seized upon this semi-Menshevist mixture and employed it as a weapon in the fight against Leninism.
>
> "These are the errors, known to all, of the left social democrats in Germany. . . .
>
> "Admittedly, the left-wingers in Germany did more than commit grave errors. Their record contains great and truly revolutionary deeds."

It was against Lenin's criticism of the semi-Menshevism of the German left wing that Slutzki brings the charge of failure to support *without serious reservations* the left social democracy.

Comrade Stalin shows up this anti-Leninist "historianship" as the work of "a calumniator and falsifier".

Sidney Hook advances the same charge against Lenin, when he states the Slutzkist thesis: "It was Rosa Luxemburg, however,

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and not Lenin, who delivered the classic attack against revisionism from the standpoint of dialectical materialism".

And what more correct characterization can be given to Sidney Hook's version of history than Comrade Stalin's characterization of Slutzki—"calumniator and falsifier"?

Of the same nature is Hook's placing one part of Marxian theory against another, of which we spoke in the previous article. He also invades the field of economics to declare that the fetishism of commodities is "the central doctrine of Marx' sociological economics" and considers "the theory of surplus value as an abstract and derivative expression." (*Modern Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 435). This simply means he understands neither, and that he is substituting both. It is an old revisionist trick to try to fight Marx with Marx, but it has failed for some generations as it will for many more. The exposure of the fetishism of commodities is a part of the theory of surplus value, and the two can no more be placed in opposition than can the kidneys be cited against the lungs. Only a revisionist, one who denies Marxism as a system, can play at such a game. In insisting that the theory of surplus value is an "abstract and derivative expression" Hook robs Marxism of its very foundation in understanding the exploitation of labor and the class struggle. Not a metaphysical abstraction, not at secondary expression, but "The doctrine of surplus value is the essence of the economic theory of Marx." (Lenin).

This basic tendency of Hook's thought is also expressed in his excluding of dialectics from the field of nature and confining it exclusively to the consciousness of man. Because consciousness is involved in the dialectical movement of society, Hook concludes that where there is no consciousness there can be no dialectics. Hook poses the question thus: either "social life is merely a chapter of physical life and explicible in physical terms", or, if this is not so, Marxism must be "freed from its coquetry with Hegelian terminology and disassociated from the illegitimate attempts to extend it to natural phenomena in which human consciousness does not enter." (*Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 363).

In the face of this very clear denial by Hook of dialectics in nature, one marvels at the sudden lapse of memory, to put the matter mildly, that causes him to protest in the statement he has just submitted—"and I have never denied it." The fact that Hook's denial of the universality of dialectics is typical pragmatism, with its denial of the possibility of a unified body of knowledge, corresponding to a material universe, of which man and society is an expression and product.

Hook's final point in his reply above is also masked and not

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open and frank. Under cover of the platitude that no man "has said the final word on anything", he is really affirming his own license to change at will the Marxian system and to reassemble its fragments under the hegemony of the pragmatist philosophy. The fact that he calls this disintegration of Marxism by the euphoneous name of "creative Marxism" does not need to confuse us. This is only another example of what Lenin described in the following words:

> "But after Marxism had dislodged all the diverse teachings hostile to it, the tendencies expressed in these teachings began to search for new outlets. The forms of, and the reasons for, the struggle have changed, but the struggle itself continues. The second half century of the existence of Marxism began with the struggle within Marxism against the tendencies inimical to it. . . . Pre-Marxian Socialism is smashed. It continues to struggle not on its own ground any longer, but on the general ground of Marxism, as revisionism."

The struggle against revisionism is a struggle against bourgeois philosophy. But this bourgeois philosophy does not appear openly in its own name, it comes forward as "Marxism", even as "creative Marxism," it proclaims itself as "dialectical materialist" with only the "little correction" of substituting Dewey's for Marx' theory of cognition. The revisionists "agree with the Party's political program in the main, but retain a few philosophical reservations." The example of Hook helps us to understand the feeling with which Lenin exclaimed:

> "It is a shame to confess, yet it would be a sin to conceal, that this open enmity towards Marxism makes of Chernov a more principled literary opponent that are our comrades in politics and opponents in philosophy." (Vol. 13, p. 73.)

V.

What are the practical consequences of Hook's pragmatism parading as Marxism? Hook's views have been eagerly seized upon by the reformists and renegades. This is not only because he furnishes them with philosophical justification for existence, as alternative inferences which are "candidates for truth." More important is his justification of all schools of revisionism by denying the existence of any body of established Marxian truth. What could be more sweeping in its contemptuous dismissal of the various Communist Parties and of the Communist International, than Hook's article in *Modern Quarterly*, Volume 5, No. 4? In that article it is made clear that Hook believes he alone truly understands Marx, that the Communist Parties are merely repeating with me-

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chanical stupidity the formulae of Marx. Let us recall again Hook's description of Marxism as expressed practically in world mass movements.

> "In Russia, it is a symbol of revolutionary theology; in Germany, of a vague social religion; in France, of social reform, and in England and America, of wrong-headed political tactics."

Modesty may require us to ignore Hook's cynical characterization of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. as an expression of "wrong-headed political tactics." We merely note in passing that in this judgement, he unites with the renegades and reformists of all brands. But what shall we say of a man, who professing to be a Marxian and a dialectical materialist, was able to dismiss the gigantic achievements of Marxism in the Soviet Union as "a symbol of revolutionary theology"! This is nothing but the sickly egotism of an idealist closet-philosopher, who thinks that the advances in human knowledge are being produced by his own brain, rather than by the mass action of the millions for whom Marxism is not an intellectual exercise, but a guide for transforming the world.

Hook puts forward his ideas in the name of Marxism. Those who are more open and frank bring forward the same ideas to explain their rejection of Marxism. For example, Max Eastman, who conducts a feverish crusade to destroy dialectical materialism, does so because he agrees with Hook that it is a symbol of revolutionary theology." A close kinship with this thought is also expressed by Mr. Norman Thomas, who wrote in the same issue of the *Modern Quarterly* with Sidney Hook, the following:

> "I agree that the philosophy of dialectic materialism is 'disguised religion.' The psychological resemblance between Communism and religion are indeed so great as scarcely to be disguised. Which makes me wonder whether its prophet, Lenin's mind was essentially scientific, despite his genius for a ruthless realism and the large element in him of the creative will. These things are not uncommon in great leaders of religious movements."

This agreement between Hook, Eastman and Thomas is not an accidental one. No matter how varied may be the philosophical facade with which each one distinguishes himself from the others, the substantial foundation of each is identical; namely, pragmatism. It is true that in the national elections Hook supported not Thomas, but Foster. It is clear, however, that he was brought to this act not by the logic of his revisionism, which would lead straight to Thomas, but by something else. That other factor was the rise of a considerable mass movement of intellectuals toward the Communist Party, a movement which carried with it precisely that public to which Hook makes his most immediate and direct appeal. After

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all, a vote for Foster and Ford, even though not entirely logical for a revisionist, is a small price to pay for the privilege of passing unchallenged as "the foremost Marxist in America"! But the Communist Party does not, and cannot participate in such business.

VI.

We pointed out above that dialectical materialism, free from the pragmatic revisions of Hook, is necessary for the working class because the working class represents the future development of society. In the working class we have that complete correspondence between the objective and subjective factors of society, between the laws of economic and social development and the class needs of the workers, which for the first time makes possible the unity between the class needs and aspirations and the most coldly objective, scientific study and understanding of the society in which that class conducts its struggles. Precisely this is what Hook does not and cannot understand.

It cannot help the working class to perform its revolutionary tasks to teach it, as does Hook, that our program has no objective validity, except that we may by acting on it make it true to some extent. It is quite correct to emphisize the active character of the working class as the maker of the revolution, but to put this in Hook's form, means to demoralize and divide the working class into groups and sections each of which has its own separate program with equal claim to truth (objective validity), and each of which will actually be made true to the extent that workers believe in it and act upon it. This idealistic conception of Hook, while it puts on a brave revolutionary face as emphasizing action, more action, achieves the opposite result in reality by laying the foundation for confusion and disruption. The necessary precondition for effective action of the working class is its unification, not around any or all programs, but around that single program which alone corresponds to the laws of social development and the needs of the masses.

Only this understanding of the objective and scientific character of our program and our philosophy, gives us the capacity for carrying through the proletarian revolution. The revolution is not, as Hook falsely states, *merely* the struggle for power, it is the struggle for power in order to use that power for a definte, specific purpose; namely, the establishment of Socialism as the first stage of Communism. This is not some general abstract goal in the nature of a "social myth." This is a concrete program of action, directed

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towards the development of a planned society, all the essential features of which are matters of fore-knowledge and plan.

Of course, while we reject the idealistic inflation of the role of consciousness given by Hook, we simultaneously reject unconditionally that understanding of the historical process as the product of those large impersonal forces, of which men are mere automatic reflexes. Communism is inevitable, but it is only inevitable because the working class will inevitably fight to overthrow capitalism and consciously establish Communism. The inevitability of Communism by no means belittles the active role of the working class, as Hook would have us believe, but on the contrary.

Hook and all revisionists by rejecting the scientific character of Marxism, contribute not to the development of the revolution, but to the building of obstacles against the revolution. In order to further intensify the confusion on this question, they assure the workers that to refuse to follow the Hooks, to insist instead upon mastering the science of Marxism, that this means in reality to fall into the swamps of religion. Such an argument may sound preposterous. And it is! But it is seriously made by Sidney Hook.

It is no longer possible for Sidney Hook to explain away our controversies with him on the basis of "distortions and misunderstandings." It is quite clear that we have two sharply opposed conceptions of Marxism, expressed by Hook and by the international Communist movement. Our first task was to prove that these two lines existed in conflict with one another. Our second and larger one, is to prove that all revisionist theories, such as those of Hook, are objectively false and subjectively dangerous to the working class. To fully carry out this second task is a long process of class struggle, political and ideological. We gain mastery of the science of dialectical materialism through the development of the struggle for control of society; and we win control of society only through our growing mastery of dialectical materialism.

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The Struggle of Marx and Engels Against Opportunism of German Social Democracy

By G. VASILKOVSKY

The literary heritage of Marx and Engels is colossal. Every newly published document of theirs, every letter, note, re-written article or altered thesis of theirs, helps towards a conscious understanding and direction of the historical process. In this respect the documents (letters of Marx and Engels to Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, K. Kautsky and others, from 1870 to 1886), published in Vol. VI of the *Marx and Engels Archive*, have tremendous significance.

Not all the letters of Marx and Engels to the social democratic leaders of that time have been published. What is now made available had also been concealed for a half century by the traitors of the revolution. The German Social Democracy even today keeps many letters of Marx and Engels under padlock. They are dangerous to it even now, for this correspondence—as it appears from the published documents—is a thorough indictment of the German Social Democracy.

Marx and Engels, with the revolutionary energy that was characteristic of them, fought against the opportunism which had penetrated into the ranks of the German Social Democracy already at the beginning of its path, which had led to its betrayal of the interests of the working class. In many ways, they foresaw even then the treacherous end of this party. Engels—and all the letters relating to party affairs and party policy, as it is emphasized in the introduction to this volume of the *Archive*, were in consonance with Marx—wrote to Bebel, who was then fighting for the revolutionary character of the party:

> "So long as the party in Germany remained true to its proletarian character, we brushed aside all other considerations. But now, when the petty bourgeois elements admitted into the party have opened their cards, the situation is different. As long as they are permitted to smuggle piecemeal their petty bourgeois views into the organ of the German party, this organ is thereby simply closed to us.

Then follows the ingenious prediction:

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> "However, world history follows its own course, in spite of these wise and moderate philistines. In Russia, in a few months, things are bound to take a decisive turn. One of two things: either the autocracy will fall, and with the chief bulwark of reaction removed a new wind will at once sweep through Europe, or a European war will break out and . . . this war, too, will bury the *present* German party. The new party, which, after all, is bound to emerge as a result of all this, will be freed in all European countries of the vacillation and pettiness which hamper the movement everywhere."

This was written in 1879! Barring the periods, what an accurate anticipation is revealed in this document of the founding of the Communist Party and of the Third International yet ten years before the birth of the Second! This new party, of which Engels wrote, *Lenin* founded.

Three years later Engels again wrote to Bebel saying that in the event of a European war "our party in Germany would be swept and split by a stream of chauvinism, and the same would happen in France."

Marx and Engels tried in every possible way to exert influence on Bebel in order to drive the opportunists out of the Party.

> "We must not," Engels wrote in 1873, "allow ourselves to be misled by cries about 'unity.' It is the very ones who harp most upon this slogan that are the principal instigators of disunity. Such are the present-day Bakuninists. However, the old Hegel, himself, said: 'A party which is capable of surviving a split is thereby already giving evidence that its ultimate triumph is assured. The movement of the proletariat inevitably passes through various stages of development. At each stake a part of the people remains stuck and does not go any further.' "

"Fortunately," Engels observes elsewhere, "the proletarian movement possesses an enormous capacity for renewal."

In 1882, shortly before Marx' death, Engels wrote to Bebel:

> "That sooner or later it will come to a clash with the bourgeois elements in the party, and to a split into a right and left wing, I haven't had the slightest illusions for a long time, and in a note regarding the article in the *Jahrbuch* I bluntly said that I considered it *desirable*. . . . One thing you can be entirely sure of: If it will come to a clash with these gentlemen and the left wing of the party will open its cards, we will, under all circumstances, go with you—and actively, with the visors up."

Already after the death of Marx, in 1885, Engels wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht:

> "The petty bourgeois element in the party is increasingly gaining control. Marx's name is possibly being eliminated. If this continues, there will be a split in the party, you may be sure of it."

In another letter, to Bebel, Engels wrote:

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> "For all this rubbish we have Liebknecht to thank, with his weakness for the educated sophisticates, for people with a bourgeois standing, so flattering to the philistine. He falls for the writers and the business men flirting with Socialism. But in Germany precisely *they* are the most dangerous people, and against them Marx and I have waged an unremitting struggle since 1845. Having admitted them into the party, where they project themselves everywhere, they must constantly be pushed back, because their petty bourgeois viewpoint invariably conflicts with the views of the proletarian masses, or they try to distort these views. . . . A split is obviously unavoidable. . . ."

In this volume of the *Archive* are published letters relating to criticism of the Gotha Program. Marx and Engels protested not only against the program itself, but also against unity on a rotten basis with the Lassaleans. Engels wrote: "This unity bears the seed of a split."

But the split did not occur. Even those leaders who did fight for the revolutionary character of the party feared a split. In a later period of development of the German Social Democracy the same story was repeated with the group of Rosa Luxemburg. And Lenin, the Bolsheviks, could not undertake to carry out the split for the Lefts in the German Social Democratic Party. Comrade Stalin wrote about it in the letter, "Some Questions Relating to the History of Bolshevism."

> "What could Lenin do," Stalin wrote, "what could the Bolsheviks do, when the left social democrats in the Second International, and above all among the German social democrats proved a weak and impotent group, inadequately organized and lacking in ideological equipment, and afraid even to utter such words as 'breach' or 'split'?"

In the light of the newly published letters of Marx and Engels illustrating their passionate struggle with opportunism in the German Social Democratic Party during the early and later stages of its development, the role of Leninism in the international revolutionary movement emerges even more strikingly and clearly. With his teaching of Party principles, with his emphasis upon the organization of an independent Bolshevik party, and with his relentless struggle against opportunism, Lenin saved the banner of Marxism and the cause of the proletarian revolution. It is impossible, for example, to read the Minutes of the Second Congress of our Party—thirty years since Lenin launched his struggle for ideological purity of the organization of proletarian revolutionists—without deep emotion. Lenin did not know most of the letters of Marx and Engels regarding the German Social Democratic Party, published in recent years. But a comparison of what he said and wrote about the party, including his utterances at the Second Congress, with what Marx

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and Engels wrote, reveals a patent ideological unity in this decisive question regarding the party of the proletarian revolution.

Incidentally, it is characteristic also that Marx and Engels, especially Marx, immediately detected the philistine and petty bourgeois character of the pope and the cardinal of international opportunism—Bernstein and Kautsky. In a letter to his daughter, not included in this volume of the *Archive*, in 1882, Marx wrote:

> "When this beauty first appeared before me—I am speaking of this old fellow Kautsky—the first question which escaped from my lips, was he like his mother? Absolutely, not at all, he replied; on which I inwardly congratulated his mother. He is a mediocrity, with petty points of view, too wise by half (he is only 26 years old), knowing better than anybody else, to a certain extent industrious, occupying himself with statistics but getting little sense out of it; he belongs from the year of his birth to the genus philistine."

Devastating!

Kautsky and Bernstein were the subject of many letters of Engels to Bebel. In one letter Engels writes:

> "To our people—to some at any rate—it seems utterly impossible when writing articles to limit themselves to what they really understand. This is evidenced by the endless volumes of copy on Socialist theory penned by K. Simmachos (Kautsky) and others like him, whose economic ignorance, mistaken views, and lack of knowledge of Socialist literature serve as excellent means for destroying the theoretical superiority which has heretofore distinguished the German movement."

In 1879, in a letter to the leadership of the party sharply criticising the opportunists who were then raising their heads, Marx and Engels suggested that they be expelled from the party, Bernstein included.

> "The gentlemen (Goechberg, Schramm and Bernstein) who write this [referring to their article, 'A Retrospective Review of the Socialist Movement in Germany,' G. V.] are members of our party . . . now holding official positions. These things are absolutely incompatible. If they think as they write, they must leave the party—at least resign their positions. If they do not do it, they admittedly intend to use their official status in order to combat the proletarian character of the party. *Thus the party sells itself by leaving them in their official positions.* (Italics mine.—G. V.)

And further in the same letter:

> "We are confronted with petty bourgeois representatives who dread that the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary position in society, 'may go too far.' . . . These are the very people who, under the pretense of bustling efficiency, not only do not do anything themselves but try to prevent that anything should happen at all,

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save chatter; who in 1848 and 1849 obstructed the movement at every step with their fear of any action, ultimately bringing it to its defeat."

It is impossible not to recall Lenin's speech at the Second Congress of the Party:

"It would be far better that ten men who worked should not call themselves members of the Party, than that one chatterbox should have the right and the opportunity to become a member." (*Minutes of the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party*, p. 280, Russian edition, 1932.)

The letter of Marx and Engels concludes with a threat to cut loose from the German party:

"How the party can continue to tolerate within its ranks the authors of this article, is utterly incomprehensible to us. But if even party leadership to any extent falls into the hands of such people, it means that the party is simply castrated, with no proletarian energy in it."

And in 1932 the German Social Democracy, long dead and buried as a revolutionary party, buried Eduard Bernstein as one of its leaders!

"If the policy of the new party organ will correspond with the views of these gentlemen, if it will be bourgeois and not proletarian, there will, we regret to say, remain nothing for us to do but to publicly come out against it, and put an end to the solidarity with you which we have heretofore manifested. . . ."

Bernstein, as is known, then hid his opportunist rags out of which on the day following Engels' death he sewed the banner of international revisionism which found a basis in the party which had failed to kick out the opportunists from its ranks.

Marx and Engels had to carry on a struggle not only against the right opportunists, but also against the "lefts"—the Bakuninists. These opportunists likewise found their supporters in the social democracy of that day. Wilhelm Liebknecht was helpful even in this domain. He was printing in the party organ material by various Bakuninists who were attacking the General Council of the First International, and particularly Marx.

In 1871 Marx wrote to Liebknecht regarding the publication of letters by Boruttau, a henchman, of the Bakunists, in the party organ *Volkstaat*: "You must simply decide whether you want to act *against* us or *together* with us." A year later Engels wrote to Liebknecht: "Stefanoni, behind which name is none other than Bakunin . . . has simply used you as a tool . . . "

It is impossible within the compass of an article to exhaust the

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wealth of thoughts scattered throughout the letters of this volume of the *Archive*. The events of our time, after so many years, confirm the correctness of their analysis of the most complex political questions, the correctness of their characterization of single individuals. What power Marxism must needs have to be able to foreshadow so clearly events of historical development!

As an example, let us take one of the most important questions of Soviet reality, the question of collective farms. In 1886, writing on a private matter to Bebel, Engels expressed his views on one of the principal problems of the Socialist revolution:

> "As soon as we come to power, we shall have to carry out measures for the organization of large-scale agriculture—in the beginning leasing the large estates to independent cooperative associations, which will operate under the control of the State and with the proviso that the State shall remain the owner of the land. The great advantage of this measure is, that while it is essentially feasible, it cannot be put forward by any other party except ours. . . . That during the transition to Communist economy we shall have to make extensive use of co-operative production as the intermediary link, Marx and I never had any doubts about. Things will have to be so arranged that society—in the beginning, consequently the State—shall retain ownership of the means of production, so that the private interests of a cooperative association could not take possession of property belonging to society at large."

Lenin and *Stalin*, continuing the cause of Marx and Engels, likewise worked out problems of Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. *The theory and practice of nationwide collectivization and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, formulated and elaborated by Comrade Stalin, have given the revolutionary proletariat of the world a new and mighty weapon in the struggle for Socialism.*

Every revolutionary step of the party evoked in the "old men" in London great joy and elan. Thus Engels, upon hearing that Bebel and Liebknecht had voted against the war credits during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, wrote to Natalie Liebknecht:

> "We all rejoiced here at the courageous conduct of the two in the Reichstag, when, under the circumstances, it was truly no joke openly and resolutely to come out in defense of their views."

A few years later, Engels again returns to this question, pointing out that the "German workers proved to be in the vanguard of the European movement chiefly because of its genuinely internationalist behavior during the war." The chauvinist and treacherous conduct of the German social democratic leaders during the world war transformed social democracy into a "stinking corpse." Lenin, Bolshevism, saved the banner of the world revolutionary proletariat

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by adhering to the policy of defeatism, the true internationalist position, by fighting against imperialism. This alone deservedly places the Russian workers in the advance guard of the proletarian movement of the world.

The sixth volume of the *Archive* is a treasure of Marxian thought. In these letters, Marx and Engels emerge before us not only as theoreticians but also as practical leaders of the workers movement. You see them take a hand in all, even the most detailed, questions of party life, from drafting speeches for Bebel, coining slogans for election campaigns, to arranging for the publication of party literature, to choosing the type in which the literature is to be set, and to collecting newspaper clippings.

The sixth volume of the *Archive* should become the possession of all active Party workers. These documents should, literally, be studied. They are an ideological weapon in the struggle for a Bolshevist spirit of the Party, equipping our leaders and helping them to orientate themselves in the new developments with which Lenin and Stalin have enriched Marxism.

These letters of Marx and Engels, written as they are in popular style, ought to be published in separate editions, extensively annotated, so that broad masses of toilers could use them.

Translated from the Russian by B. Brady

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The American Economic Crisis

A Monthly Review by JOHN IRVING

WITH the turn of the year an intensification of the crisis has set in that has, within a few weeks, all but cancelled the "gains" of the August-December rise in industrial production, commodity prices and employment. As was to be expected and as demonstrated in our review in the September issue of *The Communist*, the contradictions inherent in the capitalist maneuvers "to pull us out of depression" must lead to a further deepening of the crisis. The August-December "improvement" in business conditions, as pointed out in the September issue of *The Communist*, was due partly to an isolated and obviously temporary flare-up in the textile industry, partly to a belated reaction to the inflationary measures of the federal government, and partly to otherwise seasonal factors. All these forces have now been dissipated.

During the first month of the new year, the Weekly Business Index of the *New York Times Annalist* has receded to 53.3 (for the week ended February 4) as compared with 58.5, for the week ended December 17, the high of the August-December rise. It thus stands only a little more than one point above the record low level of 52.2 last mid-August. Employment, which by mid-November had risen some 8 per cent above the July low, is now again within a point or two (the official index is not yet available) of that low record for the crisis. And wholesale commodity prices which last midsummer startled the business world with their pre-election upward rush—from the June 14 low of 87.3 to the September 6 high of 96.3—have fallen back on January 31 to a "new low" of 80.3. Unfilled orders of the U. S. Steel Corporation were 1,898,644 tons, as of January 31, or the lowest on record. Finally, bank failures are again on the increase and the imminent bankruptcy of the entire credit structure of the country is now freely admitted by most bourgeois commentators.

As we have pointed out repeatedly in these reviews, the stop-gap nature of the various private and governmental efforts to bolster up the crumbling credit strcture of the country would of itself contribute to the debacle. Referring in the August issue of *The Communist* to one phase of the work of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, we said: "Sooner or later the accumulated dead weight

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of the frozen assets which the banks are unloading as collateral on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation must impair the credit of the government . . . and the whole superstructure of these props will come down with a crash. When that happens, nothing but financial chaos can follow." And in the September issue of *The Communist* we added that, "Underlying these (governmental credit) measures is, of course, the theory that once the financial panic subsides and once commodity prices begin to rise . . . the wheels of business [will start] booming again."

But the "favorable" reaction to these measures proved short-lived, as in the September review we pointed out they must be. And now, a half year later, the editor of the *New York Times Annalist* (February 3, 1933), to cite but one voice among a multitude rising in chorus, sounds the alarm:

> "A year ago . . . it seemed reasonably necessary for the federal government to intervene with its own credit to check the panic. . . . But though this course seemed advisable, it was at the same time clear (!) that the policy might be carried so far as to lead to the creation of a new crisis; for the acceptance by the federal government of loan collateral of lower than sound banking standard held a clear promise of a postponed liquidation that might be even more drastic than that which was avoided a year ago. *The two justifying considerations* were, first, the need of restoring *public confidence* and some degree of stability; and, second, the possibility . . . that a *large-scale improvement in business* might occur in time to solve *an essentially insolvent* general situation. That second hope has not been fulfilled." (Italics mine—J. I.)

The statistics of the case are by now fairly familiar to the readers of these reviews. But it may be well to bring them up to date for the year 1932 as a whole.

Beginning with the basic industry, *steel*, we find that the 13,095,000 tons of ingots produced in 1932 represent an annual total that is less than for any year since 1900, and a decline of about 72% from the 1925-1929 average. Great Lakes shipments of *iron ore* were the lowest since 1886.

Total *automobile* production of 1,370,728 cars and trucks represent a decline of 42% from the 1931 total, and, with the exception of 1918, is the lowest output since 1915. It compares with 5,600,000 units produced in the peak year 1929.

Building construction—value of contracts awarded amounted to $1,351,000,000 as against slightly over $3,000,000,000 for 1931 and $6,628,000,000 for 1928. And this is to be accounted for only partially by decreased construction costs. For in terms of area—square feet of construction—we get a similar percentage decline, from a monthly average of 80,500 square feet in 1928 to

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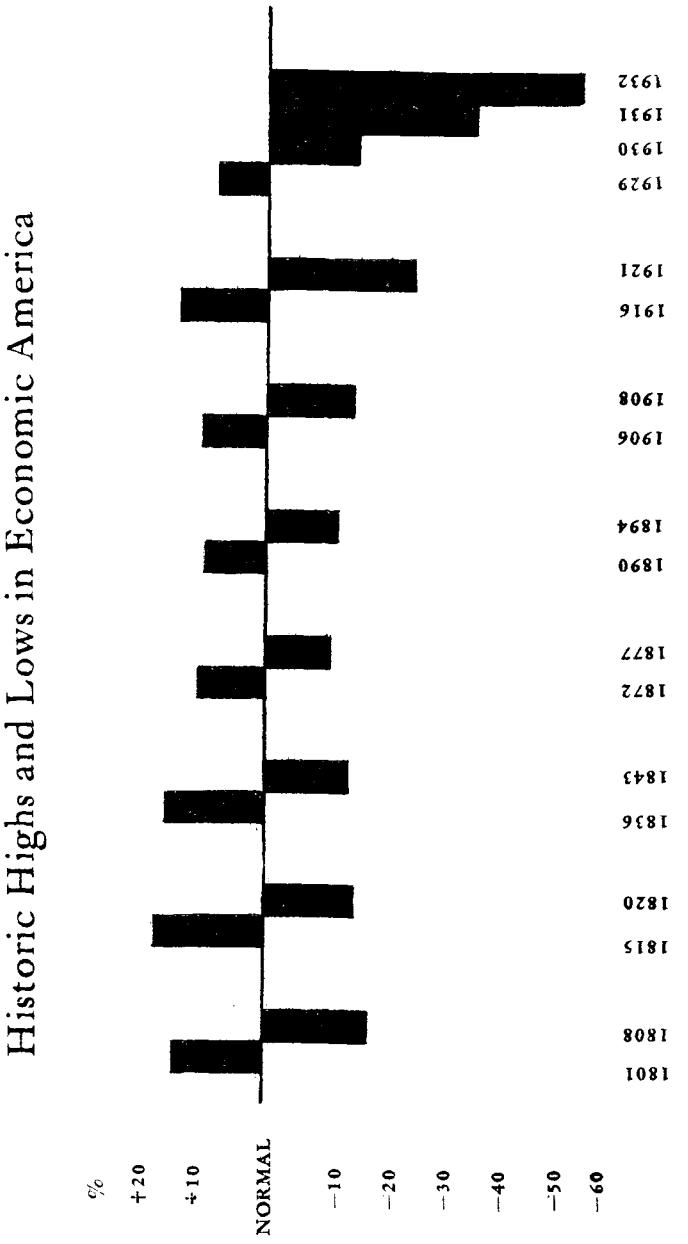

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one of 30,500 square feet in 1931, and approximately 14,000 square feet in 1932.

The per capita production of *cotton textiles*, in spite of the phenomenal rise during the autumn months, amounted to not quite 90% of what it was in 1931 and only to 68% of ten years ago.

Net ordinary *life insurance* was down to less than in 1905. All classes of new life insurance written in 1932 amounted to 18% less than in 1931.

For the first eleven months of 1932, Class I *railroads* suffered a deficit of over $156,000,000 compared with net earnings of $105,000,000 in the corresponding months of 1931, the second year of the crisis. This deficit occurred in spite of the drastic cut in expenses which took the form of a curtailment of about 40% in the personnel and a reduction of wages. During the year at least ten railroads have gone into the hands of receivers and a great many have warded off bankruptcy only with the aid of R.F.C. funds. Freight car loadings were 24.4% lower than in 1931, and at the lowest point since 1909.

Business failures, 9% higher than the year before, were the largest on record, numbering 28,773 as against, say, the 20,373 failures of 1928. *Bank failures*, numbering 1,453 last year, were the largest on record next to the 2,298 failures of 1931. In 1930 they numbered 1,345.

If we sum it all up we find that economically 1932 was the most disastrous year in the annals of the country. If we think in terms of the 140 years of national growth, here is where 1932 stood.

The diagram on the opposite page represents the most prosperous and the most depressed years of each of the eight major "business cycles" that have occurred in the United States since 1790. Note the declining "prosperity" peaks since 1815, with the war time exception of 1916. Note the increasing depth of the depression years since 1872. Note, finally, the depth of the current "depression." [1]

And as a consequence as well as a partial cause of all this at least 17,000,000 persons, able and willing to work, were idle (see the careful estimate of the Labor Research Ass'n); as many more were working part time at starvation wages, and nearly a third of the population of the United States managed to exist only with

[1] For the years 1931 and 1932 the index is an extension of the Ayers' (Cleveland Trust Co.) series through interpolation of the Standard Statistics Company's Index of Production. For the year 1932 only the first eleven months were available at this writing. The Ayers' figures were available only for a few months into 1931.

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the aid of charity, or of friends, relatives and neighbors who were in most cases themselves not far removed from the brink of poverty.

So much for the record to date. What about the future? The discernable future? The way the elements that make up the crisis are shaping themselves at present, the next stage must be: 1) a collapse of a large part of the credit structure of the country; 2) a panicky attempt to stave off deflation to death by haphazard measures of inflation, with the new miseries that must fall to the lot of the toiling population as an inevitable consequence of inflation, and 3) a sales tax, instead of a tax on wealth—to "balance the budget." As it appears now, that sales tax will be disguised as a boon to the farmer in the form of the "domestic allotment" plan. This plan will raise the cost of living of the masses of workers and is also intended to prevent *the growing unity between the American urban worker and the impoverished farmer.*

How soon this next stage of the crisis will come will depend upon how long and how well a crippled governmental credit structure can sustain a bankrupt commercial and industrial structure in the face of an ever-receding major "turn for the better." It is now openly admitted that most of the railroads are bankrupt and that a large portion of the moneys advanced to them by the government through the R.F.C. is already lost. (See the *Hearing Before the Couzens Sub-Committee.*) The farmers cannot and *will not* pay their mortgages. Urban real estatae, particularly the larger commercial and residential structures and hotels are worth less than their first mortgages, and the mortgagees—the banks and insurance companies—are taking them over through foreclosures and forced sales. The "assets" of the savings banks, of insurance companies and of the mortgage title companies have dwindled to shadows of their book values and many of them have vanished altogether.

It is to sustain these values that the government, through the R. F. C., has already advanced over two billion dollars, and must advance still more if these fiduciary enterprises are not to be declared in default of their obligations. In the meantime, in the course of the past twelve months, the government has added three billion dollars to its indebtedness, raising it to nearly 21 billion dollars by the end of 1932, and its budget for the fiscal year will fail to balance by nearly two billion dollars.

To stave off bankruptcy of the railroads, of the banks, of the insurance companies, of the mortgage investment houses, the government must advance more and more of its funds, which it does not now possess. Further, it will need to raise more billions to

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balance its budget and still more billions to "revive" business through its "self-liquidating" construction program. Can it raise all these billions before the avalanche of bankruptcies occurs? Can it raise all these billions without impairing its own credit to the extent of further undermining the entire credit structure of the country? Can it raise these billions without inflation of the currency either through direct increase in the circulating media or through further extension of government credit? Will it attempt to balance the budget without a sales tax, even if disguised as the "domestic allotment" plan? Evidently, no. The crisis in these new forms must deepen still further. The lot of the worker under inflation and under a sales tax must worsen. For this is the capitalist way out of the crisis.

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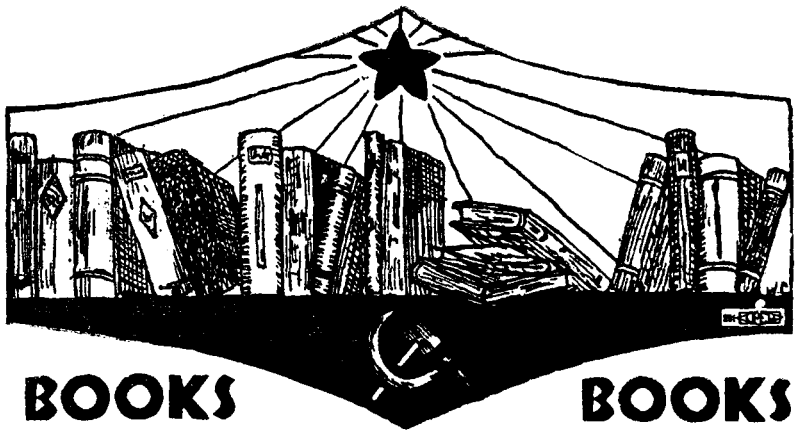

NEW REFORMS FOR OLD.

FAREWELL TO REFORM, JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, Liveright Inc., New York
Reviewed by MILTON HOWARD

The title is apt. Before the Twelfth Plenum, Manuilski noted with the greatest precision that:

> "The third point in the end of capitalist stabilization is that it marks the end of the period of social reforms, the undermining of the position of the aristocracy of labor, a new standard of living for the working class in the midst of a ruined peasantry, a ruined petty-bourgeoisie; in other words, the mass proletarianization of the broad masses of toilers. *We cannot represent the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism as a purely economic process; we must take into consideration the socio-political consequences of the economic changes.*" (My emphasis.—M. H.)

It is indeed "farewell to reform." The appearance of Chamberlain's book is, therefore, a political portent, signifying that advanced sections of the bourgeois-liberal intelligentsia are aware that there has taken place a profound shift in class forces, that the triumph of monopoly capital over the "little man" can no longer be disputed, and for the petty-bourgeois masses and intellectuals there must be a political re-orientation.

The book is an analysis of "the rise, life and decay of the Progressive Mind in America." By the "Progressive Mind" is meant that philosophy of social reform which began at the time of the agrarian crisis of the 1890's. Beginning as Populism, the political philosophy of the ruined small farmers of the Middle West, it developed into the "Free Silver" campaigns of Bryan, and later into the "trust-busting" campaigns of Roosevelt, the theories of "the new nationalism," the "new deal," and the "forgotten man." It found emotional expression in the novels of Frank Norris, Robert Herrick, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and others. It was expressed in the indignant researches of the "muck-rakers," such as Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair and a host of lesser journalists, who held before the horror-stricken eyes of the "people" the bottomless infamies of "Big Business." Later it was given more intellectual expression in the writings of the young "intellectual liberals" like Walter Lippman, Herbert Croly, in Louis Brandeis' exposure of the "Money Trust," etc. Essentially, the philosophy of social reform is at

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the basis of the whole pre-war decade of "radical Bohemianism" which is exemplified in the writings of Floyd Dell, Max Eastman, and many of the writers who hovered so ambiguously about the old *Liberator* and *Masses*. In the exalted shallowness of Woodrow Wilson's *New Freedom* this "progressive" reformism found its culminating expression, whence it passed swiftly on to its notorious consummation—surrender and abject loyalty to the House of Morgan with the entrance of America into the World War.

The era of 1890-1920, which witnessed the "rise, life and decay of the Progressive Mind," coincides with the era during which America developed from an agrarian-debtor nation to an industrial-creditor world-imperialist power. It was the era which witnessed the irresistable concentration and centralization of capital into the hands of monopoly capital. Already in 1886, Engels observed (in a letter to Mrs. Wischnewetzky, June 3, 1886): The America where "everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading with his own means, for his own account" has disappeared . . . The delusion (that America stood above class antagonisms and class struggles—M. H.) has now been broken down, the last bourgeois paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming an Inferno by the propulsive speed at which the development of the newly-fledged proletariat will take place."

The philosophical and political progressivism which characterized the "protest movement" of the last four decades was merely the ideological reflection of the process of proletarianization which Engels is here describing.

Chamberlain's book appears at a time when the general crisis of capitalism drives an iron wedge into the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie, throwing some of them to one side, to the desperate support of capitalism which takes the form of fascism, and others to the left, to alliance with the revolutionary proletariat. But this cleavage does not take place with mechanical clearness. Since the crisis has made it difficult, if not impossible, to support the rule of the bourgeoisie openly, the very defenders of the bourgeois dictatorship have the appearance of attacking capitalism. This gives rise to a whole series of philosophies which must be worldly-wise, more "realistic", more "radical" than the innocent panaceas of the Progressive Mind. Chamberlain's "left" attack on the weaknesses of the social-reformism of the pre-war decades is an example of a type of political philosophy which we can expect will become increasingly articulate in the near future. For the purpose of Chamberlain's attack on social reformism is not to supplant it by a revolutionary politics, but by a concealed reformism, by a "radical" defense of capitalism.

It is such a "radical" and "realistic" defense of capitalism which Chamberlain offers us as he bids "farewell to reform." It is a type of political theory far more sophistical in the use of "Marxian" phrases than the pre-war liberalism. It is a political theory which pretends to accept the Marxian analysis of capitalism, but which in reality does not and cannot understand this analysis; it is a political theory which distorts the fundamentals of the Marxian analysis. It is a theory, confidently asserted upon a superficially expert knowledge of American history, *which considers itself above and beyond all existing parties*, thinking of itself as the enemy of the party of reaction, which it either despises or ignores, and as being further to the "left" than the party of liberalism (Soule, Lippman, Chase, Dewey, etc.) whose inadequacies it pretends to scorn. It considers itself more realistic than the "Socialist Party of Norman Thomas," which it finds "lacking in showmanship" (i. e., deficient in mass influence—M. H.), and less "doctrinaire" than the revolutionary Party

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of the proletariat, whose political philosophy it finds inadequate to deal with the realities of an American scene "ostensibly democratic."

This is a familiar formula. It is a formula which, under the guise of a pseudo-scientific, supra-class objectivity conceals an inveterate enmity toward the Marxism-Leninist revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

The distinguishing character of Chamberlain's thought is an all-embracing eclecticism. He finds no difficulty in accepting simultaneously two self-contradictory propositions. Invariably his seemingly "realistic" analysis of the liberals collapses into some form of banal mysticism, or ends by accepting the very position it started out to attack.

For example, he knows that Summer's "freeman in a free society" is a myth. He knows that Henry George's "Single Tax" could only "remain poised as a vague expectation." He notes scornfully that all these "liberals" lack a "power politics," that is, concrete methods for attaining political power, and that this reduces all their proposals to utopian expressions of wish-fulfillment. He observes sarcastically that Herbert Croly expects "the vested interests to give up their evil practices (not their class position, please note—M. H.) as if by acclamation."

But what is the basic flaw which he finds, for example, in the cunningly suave theorizings of Walter Lippman? According to Chamberlain, Lippman's analysis lacks "all insight into the human heart, which in the aggregate is a greedy heart; he had lost his grasp on the power basis of politics; he had ceased to keep human psychology in mind (p. 230)." Not only is this conclusion characteristically self-contradictory, but it is the most primitive subjectivism, premised on a crudely idealist theory of history. Chamberlain, who is so airily superior to the "orthodox Marxists," misses one of the fundamental teachings of Marx, that "The proletariat does not ask what the bourgeoisie wants to do, but what the bourgeoisie is *compelled* to do." (*Dokumente des Sozialismus*, Vol. 3, p. 170, "Marx on Stirner").

He examines John Dewey's panacea of a "system of education that would train children consciously 'for levels of democratic striving,' " and he points out that the schools are completely under the control of the same "corrupt" forces that Dewey wishes to eliminate. That his criticism of Dewey is a social-reformist criticism in spite of its seeming "leftism" is indicated by his opinion that the "lack of democratic striving" in modern education might be avoided by "certain endowed schools which might be able to put Dewey's theories into very fruitful practice." (p. 230). This opinion, of course, is premised on the same possibility of "disinterested," non-class education which vitiates all of Dewey's educational theories; it is an evasion of the fact that all education which has not for its purpose class-conscious revolutionary action must be, perforce, class education in the interest of the bourgeoisie.

He is dubious of the planned capitalism notions of George Soule and Stuart Chase, pointing out that under these plans the question of political power will still remain unsolved.

Chamberlain is aware that all these "liberal" attacks on capitalism are too threadbare to find mass support for any length of time. It is necessary to construct a political philosophy which will find support among these petty-bourgeois masses who have lost faith in "Liberalism." The new political philosophy must attract these disillusioned masses by an appearance of a fundamental attack on finance capital. Chamberlain, therefore, bids "farewell to reform."

But if one bids farewell to reform, where can one go? There is the

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choice of fascism, the open military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or, the the open dictatorship of the proletariat. There are no other roads, however diverse the different paths may appear. Either you wish to destroy the private ownership of the means of production by the seizure of state power, or you don't. There are no two ways about it.

But it is the independent political action of the proletariat, it is the revolutionary way out of the crisis which Chamberlain fears. In the end, therefore, for all his glib talk about "dialectical materialism" and finance capital, etc., for all his apparent superiority to the naivete of the pre-war and post-war liberals, he finds himself just as helpless and hopeless before the fact of world crisis as the most feeble-minded of reformers. The reasons for this are simple. No analysis of, and consequently, no attack on, capitalism can be adequate *if it does not expose exploitation of the wage-worker as the source of surplus value, if it does not reveal the class character of the State as "the special instrument of oppression" (Marx) of the bourgeoisie, and if it does not make clear the historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat.* On every one of these points Chamberlain discloses the class ties that bind him firmly to the bourgeoisie. He derides the exponents of the Progressive Mind for their "unwillingness to continue the analysis [of capitalism—M. H.] once the analysis had become uncomfortable," i e., once it became a question not only of attacking the "evils" of capitalism, but of preparing for the overthrow of capitalism itself. *But he does not see that the accusation applies to* him *with equal force.*

His theory of the State is an eclectic hodge-podge shot through with self-contradictions. At the outset he accepts the definition of the bourgeois-liberal theoretician of the British Labor Party, Laski, that "government is merely a function of that group or groups which are in a position to make the most effective demands upon it." (p. 12). It never occurs to either Laski or Chamberlain to inquire why it is that "certain groups" are always in a "position to make effective demands" and other groups are never in that position. The purpose of such a definition is to conceal the fact that the "modern State authority is nothing more than a committee for the administration of the consolidated affairs of the bourgeoisie as a whole," (Marx—*Communist Manifesto*, page 28); "that, in reality, the State is nothing else than a machine for the oppression of one class by another class, no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy." (Engels—Preface to *Civil War in France*, p. 20). However, after accepting Laski's definition, Chamberlain quotes approvingly the definition of Adam Smith, which is in direct contradiction to the obscurantism of Laski: "Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all." Chamberlain then immediately turns about and promulgates a theory of the State which pictures it as being above all classes. "The 'national interest' under capitalism must inevitably mean the full satisfaction of the bargaining power of the group interests within the national orbit—*which, of course, can add up to jingoism, extreme Jeffersonian decentralization, Know-Nothingism, plutocracy, or the application of the Single Tax.*" (My emphasis—M. H.).

Thus, the capitalist State is not the "executive committee of the ruling class" (Marx), but merely a *stage* upon which the various classes fight out their differences! The State itself, Chamberlain would have us believe, is not interested in the result, since the result of class struggles can "add up"

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to any number of possible results while the State maintains its super-class aloofness!

The illogical twistings and turnings of Chamberlain's theories on the State are a result of his desire to avoid that conclusion which is made inevitable by the facts of history and the development of monopoly capitalism:

> "...that, the working class, having once attained supremacy in the State, cannot work with the old machinery of government; that this working-class, if it is not to lose the position which it has just conquered, must abolish the old machinery of oppression that had hitherto been utilized against it . . ." (Engels).

With this eclectic, bourgeois-liberal conception of the State as the basis of his political analysis of the "Progressive Mind," Chamberlain cannot escape the reactionary conclusion which is implicit in it. His conception of the State leads directly to *class collaboration.* For all his "radical talk" about "group conflicts," etc., he lets slip the basis upon which he expects these conflicts to take place; "In an industrialized world, we must all live off each other or not at all . . ." He criticizes Croly because "he could not see that any 'new nationalism' must be a *compromise among group interests according to strength.*" (p. 227). And this leads him to the even more reactionary conclusion that it is against the interests of the working-class to fight against the development of monopoly capitalism. For, he says, "the curbing of the 'money power,' the abolition of 'privilege,' . . . the economic reforms that have been undertaken in the spirit of Bryan, of La Follette, of Wilson . . . have made the system, as a long-run proposition, more difficult of operation; and this in turn, has *reacted upon the common man as employee,* as small bondholder, as savings-account depositor, as insurance-policy owner." (p. 311). In this theory, Chamberlain openly accepts the reactionary idea that the *welfare of the working-class is indissolubly bound up with the welfare of the ruling class.* What is this if not another way of expressing the political theory of Mussolini that "Labor needs capital as much as Capital needs labor"; how do these conceptions differ in any way from the "autarchy," the "Corporate State" of fascism?

In the light of this, it is not surprising that nowhere in the book is there the slightest recognition of the revolutionary role and historic mission of the working class. For Chamberlain, the proletariat exists only as the "implied threat of labor." (p. 257). He accepts the ridiculous contentions of Soule that "there is tending to grow up at the base of society a group of human material which is not good revolutionary material in the original Marxist sense. (p. 321). He states further that "Marx expected as little as from the 'rotting' masses of unemployed as he did from the employees with a petty-bourgeois psychology." (p. 321). It is obvious that this is the grossest distortion of Marxism. For it is clear to the most casual reader of Marx that it is precisely the steadily growing army of unemployed which is a major factor in the downfall of the capitalist system. Chamberlain's statements disclose that he does not understand that Marx's conception of classes was not a subjective conception depending upon "psychology," but upon the objective position of a class in the total productive system. And it is clear that he does not show any knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the proletariat as the *vanguard* of the exploited masses.

Logically, this leads him to a denial of the necessity for the forcible overthrow of capitalism. In his discussion of the way out of the crisis, he

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flounders in hopeless contradictions, in the confusion of a petty-bourgeois intellectual aware of the disintegration of his class, yet unable to transcend his class fear of a proletarian revolution. He attempts to discover something which is neither reform nor revolution.

And this leads him directly to the promulgation of illusions about a peaceful, parliamentary transition out of capitalism. His proposal of a peaceful way is not entirely disingenous, for he writes "all government is based on force; I am mindful of the good old revolutionary axiom that no owning class ever gave up its property and preferred position without a struggle." (p. 309).

What is Mr. Chamberlain's way out?

Here is Chamberlain's answer:

> "In the light of the possibilities which the Seventeenth (Income Tax) Amendment, one of the negative triumphs of the Progressive epoch, has opened up for bloodless revolution in this country. I affirm the hope (!) in bidding farewell to reform, that parliamentary processes will not fail in the interim leading up to the necessary class shifts in control."

Thus Mr. Chamberlain, the "left" petty-bourgeois intellectual, is well on the highroad to the social fascism of Norman Thomas. Thus, does the vauntedly superior analysis of an "unorthodox" Marxist end in a evasion of the revolutionary action which is so clearly required by the objective situation. Mr. Chamberlain pits his "hopes" against the logic of history! He wishes to tax capitalism out of existence! Long ago, Marx blasted this pitiful, petty bourgeois dream when he wrote:

> "Fiscal reform is the stalking horse of all bourgeoisie of radical persuasion; it is the specific remedy advocated by every bourgeois economist . . . The conditions of distribution, which are based directly upon bourgeois production—the ratios between wages and profits, between profits and interest, between land-rents and profits, can at most be modified in matters of detail by fiscal changes; *they can never in this way be fundamentally transformed.*" (Marx, *Literarische Nachlass*, vol. 3, p. 435).

Chamberlain's "farewell" to reform turns out to be merely an "auf wiedersehen."

It is impossible to take up here all the statements in the book which require analysis. It is sufficient to say that almost on every subject which he discusses, he holds at least two self-contradictory opinions. For example, in his discussion of war, his first conception is a "radical" one. He conceives of war as being the "inevitable result of an over-ripe capitalist system in which all the participants were equally implicated." (p. 226). But after placing the causes of war in the objective development of capitalism, he falls into a subjective theory of history when he says, "If Wilson had had La Follette's inability to think in world-terms, we might have been spared a wholly useless crusade!!!" (p. 260). Thus America's entrance into the war depended largely upon the character of Wilson's thought! Characteristically, on the same page he contradicts himself again by saying "those who bracket our participation in the war and Morgan loans, *New Masses* fashion, are not far [how far?—M. H.] from wrong . . ."

What of the present and the future?

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Chamberlain is not aware that capitalism has entered a stage of chronic general crisis, that in its decline it has passed out of the period of relative stabilization, and is entering a new round of wars and revolutions. He writes: "If capitalism survives the crisis and moves on toward *another upgrade* (our amphasis—M. H.) the coming to grips will be postponed." (p. 322) . . . "There may be . . . new markets to be uncovered, new wants to be exploited, new famines to create new farmer-purchasing power, even new sources of gold." Capitalism then may still "recover" and bring back "prosperity." This is, of course, the major contention of the bourgeoisie at the present moment.

"But," says Chamberlain, "there is Russia." . . . "the menace of Russian dumping will lead to the adoption of the quota system of imports and exports in many countries. *Is this propitious for capitalist expansion?*" [my emphasis—M. H.]. Chamberlain here not only ignores the fact that Russia's exports constitute less than 6 per cent of the world's total, but he repeats Hoover's discredited theory that the cause of the present crisis is to be found not in the inherent antagonisms of the capitalist system, but in the "dumping" of the Soviet Union. Since it is the existence of this government which stands in the way of returning "expansion" and "prosperity," the conclusion is obvious. The obstacle must be removed. His feelings toward the Soviet Union may be gleaned by his remark that if Upton Sinclair were living in the Soviet Union he would "be inevitably thrown into the clutches of the O. G. P. U. because of a free-speech demonstration in the Red Square." (p. 184). Thus, Chamberlain, the bourgeois intellectual who is more "left" than the liberals finds himself in the company of those who slander the Soviet Union.

If Chamberlain really wishes to bid "farewell to reform" he will have to make some fundamental changes in his ideas.

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